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HISTORY

OF THE

CAPTIVITY OF NAPOLEON

AT

ST. HELENA.

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BY

GENERAL COUNT MONTHOLON,

THE EMPEROR'S COMPANION IN EXILE,

AND TESTAMENTARY EXECUTOR.

VOL. III.

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HISTORY

OF THE

CAPTIVITY OF NAPOLEON

IN ST. HELENA.

CHAPTER I.

REMOVAL OF DR. O'MEARA.

THE year 1818 began its course under sad auspices. Time, instead of alleviating the sufferings of our captivity, aggravated them every day, and the decline of the Emperor's health gave us serious uneasiness. Sir Hudson Lowe himself observed, with a certain degree of alarm, the effect of his restrictive measures, and of the little liberty which we enjoyed during the first period of our residence in St. Helena. A struggle was evidently taking place in his mind between a vague fear of the terrible result which might be the consequence of the state of affairs, and the vices of his character, which incessantly urged on his inclination to torture his captive. His evil genius gained the supremacy: he dared to lay hands on the phy-

sician of his victim; not reflecting that this barbarous act would be a most striking testimony in support of the accusation which would stain his name, should the Emperor die at St. Helena.

At the conclusion of a violent scene at Plantation House, O'Meara received orders not to quit the enclosed grounds of Longwood, and to consider himself as under arrest there, until the governor should finally decide on his fate. Three months afterwards, O'Meara was violently carried off from us, and the Emperor, notwithstanding the bad state of his health, found himself condemned to receive no medical attention except such as should proceed from men entirely in the confidence of Sir Hudson Lowe, of whom he spoke in these words: "I never look on him without being reminded of the assassin of Edward II., in the castle of Berkeley, heating the bar of iron which was to be the instrument of his crime; my nature revolts against him; in my eyes, she seems to have marked him, like Cain, with the seal of reprobation. Admiral Cockburn never inspired me with similar distaste; true, I had some complaints against him, but I always did justice to his honourable sentiments; I never felt the slightest distrust towards him; and I would willingly have bestowed my confidence on any medical man presented by him. In this respect I had unreserved confidence in him." And when O'Meara entreated him to consent to see Mr. Baxter, a man of talent, and of irreproachable character, he replied: "I believe all the good that you tell me, and that I

hear said of Mr. Baxter, but Mr. Lowe soils every thing that passes through his hands, and he wishes to make me consult Mr. Baxter, in order that he may then remove you, whom I have myself chosen, and be enabled to have such bulletins of my health written as it may suit him to forward to his Government."

The bad treatment which poor O'Meara daily received from the restless and uneasy disposition of Sir Hudson Lowe, was not our only source of regret. The departure of General Gourgaud had become necessary in consequence of the failure of his health, and the Emperor had availed himself of this opportunity to have the real truth concerning his sufferings made known in Europe. The remembrance of the fraternal friendship which the Emperor Alexander had offered him at Tilsit, and had solemnly sworn to him at Erfurth; and the holiness of the ties which united him to the Emperor of Austria, these sometimes seemed to him like the rays of hope of a better fate. No one could be better fitted to fulfil this mission than General Gourgaud, for he had often had the honour of approaching the persons of these sovereigns, and his office in the Emperor's household had gained him admittance to the intimacy of the Empress Marie Louise. Hopes might therefore be entertained that he would obtain a hearing, and, the truth once known, the hope of a change might reasonably be nourished.

General Gourgaud obtained Sir Hudson Lowe's permission to avoid the severe trial of making the unnecessary addition of 2000 leagues to his voyage,

which would have been the case, had he been obliged to proceed to Europe by way of the Cape of Good Hope; he embarked in a vessel bound for England direct. Immediately on his arrival in London, he wrote a letter of great political interest to the Grand Marshal, and soon afterwards gave us a fresh proof of his efforts in the following letter which he had addressed to the Empress Marie Louise:

"MADAME;

"If your Majesty deigns to recall to mind the conversation which I had with you in the year 1814, at Grosbois, when seeing you unfortunately for the last time, I related to you all that the Emperor had experienced at Fontainbleau; you will pardon the sad duty which I now fulfil, by informing you that the Emperor Napoleon is dying amidst the torments of the most frightful and prolonged agony. Yes, Madame, he whom divine and human laws unite to you by the most sacred ties; he whom you have beheld an object of homage to almost all the sovereigns of Europe, and over whose fate I saw you shed so many tears when he left you, is perishing by a most cruel death, a captive on a rock in the midst of the vast ocean, at a distance of 2000 leagues from those he holds most dear, alone, without friends, without relations, without tidings of his wife or of his son, without consolation.

"Since I quitted the fatal rock, I had nourished a hope of being able to go to you, and of reciting his

sufferings to you, in full reliance on the exertions which your generous soul was capable of undertaking; but in this I was deceived. I learned that no one who could recall the Emperor to your mind, describe his situation to you, and tell you the truth, was permitted to approach you; in a word, that you were in the midst of your court, as in a prison. The Emperor himself thought this must be so. In his moments of anguish, when, in order to offer him some consolation, we spoke to him of you, he frequently replied:—'Be assured that if the Empress makes no effort to alleviate my situation, it is because she is surrounded by spies, who prevent her from learning what they make me suffer here: for Marie Louise is virtue itself.'

"Debarred from the happiness of personally communicating with your Majesty, I have been seeking, since my arrival here, to find means of sending a written statement; it is only now that a safe opportunity offers, and I hasten to avail myself of it by sending this letter—full of hope and confidence in the generosity of your character and the goodness of your heart.

"The sufferings of the Emperor may continue a long time; there is still time to save him; the moment seems very favourable. The Sovereigns are about to assemble at the congress of Aix-la-Chapelle; passions seem calmed; Napoleon is far from being formidable, and he is so unhappy, that noble minds cannot but be interested in his fate. In these circumstances, let your Majesty deign to reflect what an effect a great step on your part would produce; that, for

instance, of going to this congress, and there soliciting a termination to the Emperor's sufferings; of supplicating your august father to unite his efforts with yours, in order to have Napoleon confided to his charge, if policy did not yet permit him to be restored to liberty. Even should such a step not succeed entirely, yet the fate of the Emperor would be much ameliorated by it. What a consolation would it be to him to see you act thus! And how great would be your Majesty's own happiness! How much praise, how many benedictions would be poured on you for such a course, one which is prescribed to you by religion, by your honour, and by your duty; a course from which only your greatest enemies would dissuade you. It will be said,—'The sovereigns of Europe, after having vanquished the great Napoleon, abandoned him to his most cruel enemies. They conducted him towards his grave by the most prolonged and barbarous torments; the continuation of his agony urged him even to demand more active executioners; he seemed forgotten, and without hope of aid; but Marie Louise remained to him, and he was restored to life.'

"Ah! Madame,—in the name of all that is dearest to you in the world, of your reputation, of your duty, of your future life, make every exertion to save the Emperor! The spirit of Marie Thérése commands you so to do.

"Pardon me, Madame, for speaking to you thus. I am carried away by my feelings towards you. I would wish to see you the first among women.

"Let your Majesty deign to remember, that on the journey from Amsterdam, where I had remained, being ill, I should soon have perished for want of care, had not your Majesty, being informed of my condition, sent your physician to me, with orders to employ all the resources of art in my behalf. You saved my life, Madame; the remembrance of this benefit will never be effaced from my heart, and I know no better way of testifying my gratitude than by having the courage to write this letter.

"Deign to accept, &c., &c., &c.

(Signed) GENERAL GOURGAUD.

"London, August 25th, 1818."

My duties were becoming very difficult to fulfil. General Bertrand would doubtless be eager to sacrifice to the Emperor a part of the time which he had hitherto given to his family affairs; and he would resume his custom of writing from the Emperor's dictation, but after six o'clock in the evening he could not cross the line of sentinels, which, from that hour until six in the morning, separated us from his dwelling, without a special permission from the officer of ordnance, and even then he would have to walk between two soldiers, who held their bayonets pointed at him. The orders of Sir H. Lowe were that the point of the bayonet should touch the breast of the person. I vainly asked myself what would be the termination of the quarrel so violently urged on by Sir H. Lowe, for the purpose of obliging the Emperor to choose between

a gradual decay of his health and the humiliation of voluntarily submitting to the illegal restrictions imposed on him by the capricious character of his gaoler. I confess that I could foresee none but sinister consequences to this state of things. Sir H. Lowe no longer even permitted any discussion of his acts; he appeared to look upon us as slaves subject to his scourge; he returned our letters to us, under the pretence that we did not conform to the *letter* of his instructions, and that we continued to make use of the title of 'Emperor,' instead of adopting, conformably to his will, that of 'General Bonaparte.' This was but a frivolous ground for complaint; for during the last three years we had never made use of any other denomination than that of 'the Emperor Napoleon,' as well in communicating with Sir H. Lowe, as with the English government and with Admiral Cockburn; and until now they had not refused either to listen to us, or to receive our letters and reply to them.

The work of dictating was the only source of life left to the Emperor, when Bertrand or myself could succeed in awakening his recollections of past times, and thus taking off his thoughts from the consideration of his actual position.

The death of the Princess Charlotte recalled to his memory the danger experienced by the Empress Marie Louise at the birth of her son; and he related to us, with a sort of complacency, the details of that important event. "Had it not been for me," said he, "she would have lost her life, like this poor Princess

Charlotte. What a misfortune! young and beautiful, destined to the throne of a great nation, and to die for the want of proper care on the part of her nearest relations! Where was her husband? Where was her mother? Why were they not beside her, as I was beside Marie Louise? *She*, too, would have died, had I left her to the care of the professional people; she owes her life to my being with her during the whole time of danger; for I shall never forget the moment when the accoucheur Dubois came to me, pale with fright, and hardly able to articulate, and informed me that a choice must be made between the life of the mother and that of the child—the peril was imminent; there was not an instant to be lost in useless indecision. "Save the mother," said I, "it is her right; proceed just as you would do in the case of a citizen's wife of the Rue St. Denis." It is a remarkable fact, that this answer produced an electric effect on Dubois. He recovered his *sang froid*, and calmly explained to me the causes of the danger. The infant had presented itself in an unfavourable posture; the mother's strength was exhausted; there was nothing more to be hoped for from nature, and it was necessary to have recourse to the resources of art and to use the forceps. A quarter of an hour afterwards the King of Rome was born; but at first he was believed to be dead, so much had he suffered in coming into the world; and it was with much difficulty that the physicians recalled him to life. His birth was a great event. At the sound of the first cannon-shot from the Invalides, the popu-

lation of Paris was roused to a state of excited suspense; for it was known that 100 shots would be fired for a son, and only 21 for a daughter. At the 22nd shot there was a general shout of joy; they heard the decree of Providence which consolidated my dynasty. I am convinced that the death of the Princess Charlotte will be a subject of mourning to all classes of the English. It seemed to them that her reign would be a series of reforms of the old abuses which tarnish the English constitution, and of ameliorations of the condition of the working classes. Hope always attends on the steps of a young and beautiful woman. Strange accidents of fate! In England, as in France, a frightful catastrophe overthrows, as with a thunderbolt, the hopes of a great people!" *Apropos* of this event, the Emperor related to us an anecdote, rather curious in itself, and which recalls to mind the mill of Sans Souci, and the great Frederic. When the palace of the King of Rome was about to be built on the heights of Passy, opposite to the Champ de Mars, the Civil List found it necessary to buy not only the ground, but the buildings comprehended within the space destined for the site of the palace and its gardens. A poor cooper possessed, within this space, a hut, the demolition of which was indispensable, as it stood just in the way of the line drawn for the façade of the palace. The architects estimated it at a thousand francs, and spoke to the proprietor. He was a cunning Norman, and demanded 10,000 francs. The Emperor ordered the money to be given to him; but when it was brought

to him, along with the contract which he was to sign, he declared, that on reflection he considered that as the Emperor disturbed him, he ought to pay for turning him out, and give him 30,000 francs. "This good man is a little exacting," said the Emperor; "but still there is some sense in his reasoning; give him the 30,000 francs, and let me hear no more of the matter." But the popular proverb says, "Give an inch and they'll take an ell;" and our cooper thought this was a fine opportunity for putting it into action; he refused the 30,000 francs, and said that after calculating what it would cost him to establish himself in Paris, he could not take less than 40,000 francs. The architect did not know what to do; he dared not again mention the matter to the Emperor; and yet it was absolutely necessary to have the house. The Emperor learned what was passing, and was angry about it, but authorised an offer of 40,000 francs. Again the cooper retracted, and demanded 50,000. "He is a despicable creature," said the Emperor; "I will have none of his paltry hut. It shall remain where it is, as a testimony of my respect for the law."

The works were still going on at the time of the events of 1814, and the poor cooper, finding himself in the midst of rubbish and building materials, groaned over the consequences of his folly, for he had, through his own fault, lost an opportunity of obtaining a fortune quite beyond the hopes of one in his position.

The death of Cipriani, the Emperor's *maitre d'hôtel*,

was a sensible loss to our colony. He was serving the Emperor's dinner, when he felt himself suddenly attacked by such violent pains, that he was quite unable to reach his chamber without assistance; the unfortunate man rolled on the ground and uttered piercing cries. Four-and-twenty hours afterwards we accompanied his coffin to the cemetery of Plantation House. A great number of the colonists and officers of the garrison paid him the same mark of respect.

The Emperor regretted his loss, and caused the Grand Marshal to write a touching letter to Madame Cipriani, in which he granted her a pension as a testimony of his appreciation of the good services of her husband. Cipriani was still young, although he had long before attracted the attention of the Emperor by his devotion to him, and by the distinguished manner in which he had fulfilled some very difficult missions in the affairs of Naples and of Northern Italy. He was at that time employed in the secret police, and it was only since the period of the exile in Elba that he had formed part of the Emperor's household in the quality of *maitre d'hôtel.* It was to Cipriani that the taking of Capri was owing; and we always felt inclined to laugh when we saw Sir Hudson Lowe and Cipriani in each other's presence at St. Helena—two men who had played such different parts in that affair, without the former having suspected that the latter had cruelly mystified him.

In the year 1806, Sir Hudson Lowe commanded at Capri as lieutenant-colonel of a legion composed of

Corsican and Neapolitan deserters, most of them bandits, whose only way of escaping from the *gendarmerie* had been to take refuge in Sicily. Capri lies in the bay of Naples; the English attached great importance to the possession of it, because it was almost impossible for the Neapolitan Government to prevent communications being carried on from this island with the city of Naples and the whole shore of the roads. Thus, Sir Hudson Lowe's mission was much more a mission of intrigue than a military command: it was through him that the court of Sicily and the commander of the English forces in the Mediterranean were accurately informed of all that was passing at Naples.

Salicetti, prime minister of the kingdom of Naples, was continuing to make, in concert with the military authorities, vain efforts to re-establish the authority of King Joseph in the Isle of Capri, when the idea occurred to him of employing Cipriani to organise an intelligence with the garrison of Capri, in the aim of obtaining possession of the island either by surprise or by treachery. Among the Corsicans under Sir H. Lowe's command, was one of the name of Suzanelli, formerly a low attorney, a bad man, who had reduced himself by his debaucheries to the last resource of selling himself as a spy. Acquaintances formed in his youth with Pozzo di Borgo and Salicetti, rendered this infamous trade easy to him. Cipriani very soon learned that Suzanelli was an agent of Sir Hudson Lowe, and that this person and himself had been

fellow students at college. Cipriani immediately took his resolution; without mentioning his intention to any one, he went to Suzanelli, and said to him: "I know all: but we are fellow countrymen: we have eaten the same soup; we have slept in the same bed —I do not wish to reproach myself with having caused you to lose your head; choose between the scaffold, and receiving your fortune from your own country, instead of owing it to treachery. You are the spy employed by the English; assist me to expel them from Capri, and your fortune is made. If you refuse, you are my prisoner, and will be shot within twenty-four hours."—"I accept your offer," replied Suzanelli: "what do you demand of me?"—"How much do the English give you? I will give you the double of it to begin with, and I will permit you to receive their money still, but only on this condition; that you shall deliver into my hands all the letters with which you shall be entrusted for Naples, and shall give me an account of all you learn. You will deliver the answers which I give you, as if you had received them from the persons to whom the letters and messages were addressed."

Several Neapolitans, among others a colonel of dragoons, were immediately pointed out as correspondents of Sir Hudson Lowe.

Matters being thus arranged, Suzanelli and Cipriani manœuvred so well, that by these means they daily learned some important news concerning the intrigues

of the old Queen Caroline, and the movements of the English forces in the Mediterranean.

Sir Hudson Lowe's confidence in Suzanelli was so greatly increased by the apparently important communications which the Neapolitan police had put this agent in a condition to make to him, that he rewarded his services profusely, and accepted his offer of furnishing recruits to the Corsican legion which was garrisoned in Capri.

This was exactly the end which Cipriani wished to attain; for by this means it would become easy to gain possession of the place.

When everything had been prepared for the surprise of Capri, by means of the corruption effected among their comrades by the recruits accepted by Sir Hudson Lowe, it was thought well to anticipate the danger which would arise should he learn that an expedition was preparing in the roads, and the resistance which might be facilitated by the presence at Capri of the English frigate, the 'Ambuscade;' and for that purpose, Suzanelli wrote him a detailed report of the strength and secret aim of the expedition; and the tenour of this report was made to coincide with the desultory talk of the fishermen of the bay, who, deceived themselves, the better deceived Sir H. Lowe, and convinced him that the object of the expedition was the Isle of Ponza, also occupied by the English.

Another intrigue was mingled with that relative to the taking of Capri. It was very much the interest

of the Neapolitan party to embroil the court of Sicily with England, and false letters from Queen Caroline to one of her agents in Naples, Don Casetti, were fabricated, and afterwards communicated to Sir H. Lowe. In a similar manner another correspondence, of a personage of high rank, was fabricated.

In the fear of losing the services of Suzanelli, if Sir H. Lowe should discover him to be a traitor or unskilful, he was authorised to give information at Capri, that it was for the purpose of attacking this island, and not Ponza, that the expedition commanded by General Lamarque would set sail during the night-time; and he was to add, that as there was not an hour to be lost in making preparations to save the place, he had endangered his head by coming in person to communicate this important information.

What had been hoped for happened: this unexpected news threw everything into movement and confusion at Capri, and the French were already effecting their landing, before the arrangements for a defence were completed. The Royal Maltese regiment contained a great number of Suzanelli's recruits; it defended the points which it occupied but feebly, laid down its arms, and thus surrendered to the French the forts of St. Barbe and Anna, as well as the heights of the island. Sir H. Lowe succeeded with difficulty in shutting himself up in the citadel, with the Royal Corsican regiment. The only approach to this fortress was by a flight of five hundred steps cut in the rocks, and too narrow to admit two abreast.

There was but one point which commanded it—the Pio di Solaro. The French dragged some twenty-four pounders, which they found in the battery of Anna, up to this point. Shortly after the cannonading of the citadel had commenced, Sir H. Lowe capitulated.

General Lamarque could not avoid saying, when he visited his conquest, "I brought the French hither, but my reason refuses to believe that they have entered by force; and yet it is a fact which I have witnessed with my own eyes."

On another occasion, Cipriani rendered a still greater service.

A formidable expedition, under the command of General Stuart and of Admiral Freemantle, threatened Naples with a disembarkation, at a moment when that city was almost destitute of troops, and when most of the forces at the command of the King of Naples were on their way to Germany, or occupied in Calabria.

The King saw no possibility of making an efficient resistance, should the English land, as it was believed they would do, between Portici and Castelamare. He ordered the troops to shut themselves up in the Castle of St. Elmo. All the moveable property of the King was packed up, and ready to be sent off to Rome whenever the English squadron should be signaled. The Queen was alarmed, and with justice, at this determination. She secretly sent Cipriani to Salicetti, who was at Rome. She saw no safety but in the return of this minister, of whom the Emperor once said, "he alone is worth a hundred thousand men to the King

of Naples." Cipriani concealed the despatch in the sole of his boot, for fear he should be stopped by the bands of brigands whom the approach of the English was causing to appear on all sides. But before setting out, he dispatched Suzanelli and his comrade Maresca to Sir H. Lowe, who was known to be employed in the staff of Sir John Stuart. These agents had orders to prevent, at any cost, the landing at Portici, and to indicate Ischia as the most convenient point of rendezvous. They had orders, in short, to use all their efforts to retard the day of disembarkation, in order to allow time for recalling to Naples all the troops which could be gathered from Calabria and the shores of the Adriatic. Cipriani succeeded in reaching Rome, and in bringing back Salicetti to Naples. "Where is Suzanelli?" were Salicetti's first words, after reading the Queen's letter. "He is at work," replied Cipriani, "persuading the English generals to prefer Ischia to Portici." "Bravo!" cried Salicetti, "the English are lost, and Naples is saved."

The Queen was so impatient to know the result of the mission which she had entrusted to Cipriani, that she had agreed upon a signal by which he was to inform her of it when he arrived at the appointed place: he was to wave his handkerchief, if Salicetti had consented to return.

Cipriani had been so quick in performing his mission, that forty hours after his departure from Naples he informed the Queen of the result of it, and a few hours afterwards, Salicetti, resuming his power, organized a

defence which saved Naples. As he was entering the city, he met the King, who was already on horseback, preparing to quit his capital. Salicetti, immediately alighting, asked him bluntly where he was going, declaring that if he wished to tarnish his bright fame by a shameful action, he was certainly at liberty to do so; and that in this case, he, Salicetti, would command in the name of the Emperor, and save the kingdom. Murat understood the whole meaning of this reproach, and returned to his palace. All the previous orders were cancelled. The troops in the Abruzzi and Calabria were recalled; the 4th regiment of dragoons, which was on its way to Germany, but had as yet proceeded only to the distance of two or three days' journey from Naples, received orders to return by forced marches. The troops which were shut up in St. Elmo resumed their positions at Portici and Castelamare. In order to keep the populace in check, Salicetti sent for the chiefs of the Lazzaroni, declared to them that they were answerable with their heads for there being no sedition or tumult among them, and sent them to a fort. Three days of energetic measures sufficed to put Naples in a condition to resist all attack.

Cipriani also rendered important political services during the Emperor's residence in the Isle of Elba. He made several voyages to Genoa, to Livorno, and to Naples, and succeeded in supplying the Emperor with information of the changes which were taking place in the opinions of the Italian population. He organ-

ized secret correspondences with Vienna, by means of which the Emperor received, once a week, an account of all that had passed in the congress and in the diplomatic circles.

Unluckily, M. Fleury de Chaboulon arrived at the Isle of Elba at the same time as the Chevalier Colonna d'Istria, whom the King of Naples sent with a despatch received from his ambassador at Vienna, announcing the closing of the congress and the departure of the Emperor Alexander; and the Emperor immediately resolved to re-enter France, without awaiting the return of Cipriani, whom he had dispatched on a special mission. Had he awaited his return, he would not have left Elba till after the dissolution of the congress and the return of the Emperor Alexander to Russia. We are astounded when we think what might have happened had matters gone thus; for then there would have been no more declarations of the congress, no more unity in the resolutions of the sovereigns! and, therefore, how many more chances for the Emperor!

Cipriani arrived at Porte Ferrajo on the 27th of February; the Emperor had set out on the evening of the 26th. Cipriani brought news of the congress, and despatches from Vienna, which demonstrated how important it was to delay the departure of the expedition for a fortnight.

The departure of Mr. Balcombe for Europe afforded the Emperor an opportunity of causing his short sojourn at Briars to be remembered by an act of imperial munificence; to the commissions with which he

charged Mr. Balcombe, he added a bill for 72,000 francs, drawn on London, and a grant of a pension of 12,000 francs, saying to him, "I fear that your resignation of your employment in this island is caused by the quarrels and annoyances drawn upon you by the relations established between your family and Longwood, in consequence of the hospitality which you showed me on our first arrival in St. Helena. I would not wish you ever to regret having known me."

Mr. Balcombe, soon after his return to England, was appointed Purveyor-General of New Holland. He was a worthy man, and rendered us many services, but without ever failing in his duty to his Sovereign. It was said in the island that he was the natural son of the Prince of Wales.

A question, puerile in itself, but rendered grave by the annoyances of which it was the cause, gave rise to a very bitter correspondence between Sir H. Lowe and ourselves, at the same time that we were obliged to protest against false bulletins, which he got signed by a physician who did not see the Emperor, and which he then remitted to the foreign Commissioners.

Secret reports first made me acquainted with this fact; but authentic proofs were necessary to enable us to protest against such an infraction of public morality. Accident favoured my wishes. The Emperor sent me to the town in the hope that I might meet one of the Commissioners, and from him obtain something approaching to proof.

The first person I met on entering James Town

was the Marquis of Montchenu; he immediately came forward to meet me, and said to me, with visible joy, "My colleagues breakfast with me to-day—you will not refuse to make one of us? We will all talk French. It will be quite a Paris breakfast. We shall be able to forget this execrable place for a few hours; we will talk of Paris; it will be charming. Come! come! you can have nothing better to do. Pardon me, Sir," continued he, smiling at the officer of ordnance who accompanied me, and offering his hand to him, "if I do not invite you; but you would be a trouble-joy; you would recal this villanous rock to our minds." I accepted the invitation without hesitation. We were conversing about Paris and the mutual friends whom we had left there, when his aide-de-camp brought him a despatch from Sir Hudson Lowe. "Pardieu!" said he, "since the Governor forces us to think of him, you shall tell me what he says, for I do not understand English, and De Jon does not know much more than myself. I have protested against his mania for making use of English in our diplomatic relations, but I can get nothing by it. Just fancy that the other day, when I cited the usages of diplomacy, he replied, that from the moment when I appealed to the precedent of the protocols of congresses, he had offered to correspond in *Latin* with me; as if we were living in the 15th century. There is really nothing to be done with such a man."

The despatch merely contained a note announcing

what was sent, and a bulletin in due form, signed by the physician-in-chief of the island, Dr. Baxter. I, of course, accepted the office of interpreter, and took care to make a copy of the bulletin and of the accompanying note. The Marquis took no notice, and thanked me a thousand times for my obligingness. "This is the way we French are," cried he, "always ready to render services to our friends. We are, in truth, the first nation in the world."

The conversation during breakfast was entirely political, in spite of the poor Marquis's efforts to bring it back to the pleasures of Paris.

Baron Sturmer is the type of the German diplomatist. All his words savour of the protocol, and his pre-occupations of the week serve for his forced Sunday despatch. The opportunity was too good a one for him to neglect it; he was, nevertheless, very moderate in his questions about Longwood.

As to Count Balmain, he carried on his diplomacy, as the Russians always do, without appearing to think of it. They both had secret instructions, dictated by a foresight of events, which might be provoked by what the Russian commissioner called the ingratitude of the Bourbons, or which might arise from a national convulsion; "for," said they, "it is impossible to conceal from one's-self that the French are only restrained by the presence of the allied army, and no one can say what will happen on the day our armies take their departure."

Count Balmain desired, he said, explanations which might allow his royal master to give free course to his sentiments of fraternal friendship.

Baron Sturmer wished to efface the impressions given by an infamous betrayal of family ties, and to justify the conduct of his cabinet, on the plea of necessity, and the refusal of the cabinet of the Tuileries to listen to the counsels of mutual interest.

"It was," he said, "the fault of the Emperor Napoleon that the allied armies had crossed the Rhine, and that peace had not been signed at Chatillon; in short, the feelings which had advised reconciliation during the residence at Elba, were not altered; and not only did the Emperor his master sincerely regret that his son-in-law had not been recognised, but he still retained hopes that one day events would replace the crown of France on his head."

When I presented to the Emperor the two copies which I had brought from James Town, he was as joyful as on a day of victory: for Sir Hudson Lowe had always combated, as a reflection on his character, the obligation imposed on Dr. O'Meara, of showing his reports concerning the Emperor's health to us, before transmitting them to Plantation House. Two hours afterwards, I put into the hands of the orderly officer a letter to the Governor, dictated to me by the Emperor, and three letters for the Commissioners, containing an official communication of the Emperor's protest against the false bulletins.

As might be expected, my letters were returned to

me next day, because I had in them infringed the rules by making use of the title of "the Emperor Napoleon." The Commissioners received my letters twenty-four hours later, from the hands of a Frenchman, whom I sent into the town to deliver them, under pretext of making some purchases for the table.

Once in the town, we were free as air. This was a source of torment to Sir H. Lowe, but he had never ventured to deprive us of this privilege, which we owed to the state of things established by Admiral Cockburn on our arrival at St. Helena.

Some agents of Sir Thomas Reade's police followed us, it is true, but they could neither see nor hear what passed in the houses which we entered.

Sir H. Lowe felt the force of the blow struck by the undeniable discovery of the false bulletins; he came to Bertrand in order to explain his conduct, and did his utmost to prove that the bulletins, signed "Baxter," were not bulletins, but only an account given by a man of the profession, the chief physician in the island, of the verbal report concerning the state of the Emperor's health, made by O'Meara in his presence; and protested, on his honour, that this mode of proceeding had been suggested to him by his desire of not running the risk of departing from the most conscientious truth.

This incident gave rise to a violent scene between the Governor and Dr. O'Meara, at the conclusion of which the latter received orders to remain under arrest within the grounds of Longwood, accompanied by a

prohibition from seeing any of us, unless his presence were rendered necessary by illness.

Immediately on the Emperor's learning this decision, he desired me to declare to the Governor that he would no longer receive the medical services of Dr. O'Meara, because he would have no physician who was subjected to military discipline. He authorized Dr. O'Meara to forward his resignation to Plantation House, and said to him: "Well, Doctor, you are going to leave us; will the world be able to conceive that Mr. Lowe should have had the cowardice to make an attempt against my physician! Since you are now merely a lieutenant, subject to arbitrary command and military discipline, you no longer possess that independence which is necessary, in order to render your services useful to me. I thank you for the care you have paid me. Go, quit, as soon as possible, this sojourn of darkness and crime: I shall die on this bed, wasted by disease, and without aid. But your nation will be eternally dishonoured by my death. Adieu."

The Commissioners took the affair of the bulletins in very serious part, and went to Plantation House. The discussion was warm. Baron Sturmer pushed his indignation so far as to say to Sir H. Lowe, that to provoke the resignation of the physician of Longwood by the rigours of military discipline, at the same time that he caused false bulletins to be drawn up by a medical man who did not visit the Emperor, was to authorize a crime beforehand, in case of the

Emperor's death; and that he considered himself bound to protest against such measures.

The Marquis of Montchenu declared himself of the same opinion as his Austrian colleague; Count Balmain contented himself with terms of general blame. He explained to me the embarrassment of his position, confessing to me his attachment to Lady Lowe's daughter, whom he shortly after married. The Governor understood the extent of the responsibility which the declaration of the Commissioners threw on his shoulders. He freed O'Meara from his state of arrest, and came to Longwood to inform us of this decision, which had been dictated to him, as he said to the Grand Marshal, by *the extreme interest which he took in the health of General Bonaparte.*

O'Meara resumed his place near the Emperor's person, who was suffering from so serious a catarrhal affection as to oblige O'Meara to interrupt the calomel treatment of which he was then making use. O'Meara summoned Dr. Stokoe, of the ship 'the Conqueror,' to a consultation; but this gentleman had not made more than two visits before he was subjected to such inquiries and examinations as determined him to write to his Admiral that it was impossible for him again to visit Longwood. This circumstance gave rise to a very bitter correspondence between the Grand Marshal and Sir H. Lowe.

In the meantime the store ship 'Mangle' arrived from England, bringing several copies of the Emperor's observations on Lord Bathurst's speech, and also some

Edinburgh Reviews, in which there were several articles pointing out the conduct of Sir H. Lowe to the public. As soon as Sir Thomas Reade learned this fact, he bought all these pamphlets, assuring their proprietor that he did so for the purpose of sending them to Longwood, conformably to a desire expressed by us. Great was the man's astonishment, when he learned next day from O'Meara that not a single copy had been sent to Longwood, and that, on the contrary, it was for the purpose of preventing us from reading them, that Sir Thomas Reade had thus taken possession of them. Several days passed without its being possible for us to obtain one of these pamphlets, and it was with great difficulty that Salomon succeeded in sending me one. No sooner had Sir H. Lowe learned, through some indiscretion, which I have difficulty in explaining to myself, the pleasure which the articles in the Review had afforded the Emperor, than he immediately, through the telegraph, summoned O'Meara to Plantation House, and expressed himself with great passion to him, refusing to believe that it was not he who had procured me the Edinburgh Review.

The arrival of a brig which had touched at the Cape, and only brought old letters and old newspapers, afforded Sir H. Lowe an opportunity of throwing upon his Government the blame of the savage act which deprived the Emperor of his medical adviser. On the 25th of July, 1818, at half-past four in the afternoon, a dragoon brought the following letter to Dr. O'Meara:

"SIR,—Lieutenant-General Sir Hudson Lowe has commissioned me to inform you, that by instructions received from Lord Bathurst, dated May 14th, 1818, he is enjoined to remove you from the situation you occupy in the household of General Bonaparte, and to prohibit you from holding any further interviews with the inhabitants of Longwood.

"The Lord Admiral Plampim has received instructions from the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty with respect to your destination after your departure from the island.

"You will consequently, immediately on the reception of this letter, quit Longwood, without holding any farther communication with the persons residing there.

"I have the honour to remain, &c., &c., &c.,

"EDWARD WYNYERD,

"Lieutenant-Colonel & Secretary."

Dr. O'Meara disobeyed; he determined, whatever might be the consequences to himself, not to quit Longwood without again seeing the Emperor, and leaving written directions for the medical treatment and diet which he should advise him to follow, until some other physician was determined upon. He lost not a moment in informing him of the orders he had received. I was engaged in reading to the Emperor the official letter which announced to me this criminal removal, when the valet-de-chambre in attendance announced O'Meara.

"I have lived too long," said the Emperor to him; "your Ministers are very bold! When the Pope was my prisoner, I would have cut off my arm rather than have signed an order for laying hands on his physician."

Dr. O'Meara took with him, on his departure, high testimonials of the munificence and confidence of the Emperor. He deserved them.

The indignation of the Emperor was roused to its highest pitch, and that very evening he caused me to write the following letter to Sir H. Lowe:—

"Longwood, July 25th, 1818.

"SIR,—I received your letter at 6 o'clock this evening. I cannot deliver it to the Emperor before mid-day to-morrow, for he has been very unwell to-day. In translating it I became aware of an error under which you labour. You think that because he summoned Dr. Stokoe to a consultation, he will receive his services as his usual physician. I have to assure you, unfortunately for his situation, that, even with death before his eyes, he will receive no assistance, nor take remedies, except from the hands of his own physician; if he is deprived of him, he will receive assistance from no one, and will consider himself assassinated by you.

"I have the honour to remain, &c.

"MONTHOLON.

"To Lieutenant-General Sir Hudson Lowe."

The necessity under which he was of quitting Long-

wood without delay, did not permit Dr. O'Meara to give to the Grand Marshal the summary report of his opinion on the Emperor's bad state of health; but next morning, July 26th, he sent us the following paper:—

"REPORT OF DR. O'MEARA TO THE GRAND MARSHAL, ON THE ILLNESS OF THE EMPEROR.

"During the latter end of September, symptoms developed themselves which indicated disorder in the hepatic functions. Napoleon had often been attacked before this period, with catarrh, headache, and rheumatism; but these symptoms had become aggravated; the legs and feet were swelled. The gums had assumed a spongy and scorbutic appearance; in short, symptoms of indigestion had manifested themselves.

"1st October, 1817.—Severe pains, heats, sensation of weight in the hypochondriac region of the right side. These symptoms were accompanied by dyspepsia and constipation. Since then the malady has had no intermission. It has made slow but constant progress. The pains, at first but slight, increased to a degree which gave reason to fear a severe hepatic affection. This aggravation of the evil is the effect of a violent catarrh. Three molar teeth were attacked; I judged from this circumstance that they were partly the cause of the inflammatory affection of the membranes and muscles of the jaw. I, moreover, thought that they had produced the catarrh. I extracted them at proper intervals; since then the attacks have been less frequent.

"I prescribed, in order to remove the scorbutic appearance of the gums, the use of vegetables and of acids: I succeeded. It disappeared, returned again, and was again removed by the same means. Purgatives and friction again brought the legs into a good state; they were again affected some time afterwards, but in a much less violent degree. Purgatives, warm baths, and plentiful perspiration, often alleviated the pain in the hypochondriac region, but never entirely banished it; it increased very much during the months of April and May; it became irregular, produced constipation, then diarrhœa, then abundant evacuations of bilious and mucous matter. At the same time, attacks of colic and flatulence were experienced; want of appetite, sensation of weight, uneasiness, sensations in the ventricle of the heart; the pale and sallow complexion of the tunica-sclerotica, water sour and highly coloured; depression of spirits and headache; the patient could not lie on the left side; he experienced sensations of heat in the hypochondriac region of the right side; occasional nausea, and vomitings of sour and viscous bile, which increased with the pain; almost total want of sleep; uneasiness and debility.

"The affection of the legs again appeared, but in a less degree than before. The patient was afflicted with headaches, restlessness, anxiety, oppression in the epigastric and præcordial regions; paroxysms of fever at the beginning of the night; burning skin, thirst, qualms, and rapid pulse; calm and perspiration towards daybreak; this is nearly a constant effect in the case of

the patient: abundant perspiration removes the fever. There exists in the hypochondriac region of the right side a tumefaction, which may be felt on the exterior. The tongue almost always white; the pulse which, before this illness, gave from fifty-four to sixty pulsations in a minute, now gives as many as eighty-eight; pain in the region above the acromion. I administered, in order to excite the liver and stomach, and re-establish the secretion of bile, two purgatives; they afforded relief, but not lasting. During the latter end of May and the beginning of June, their effect was feeble and momentary. I proposed the use of mercury, but the patient manifested the most lively repugnance; he rejected the use of this medicine under whatever form it might be disguised. I advised him to take exercise on horseback; to make friction every day with a brush, on the hypochondriac region; to wear flannel, to take warm baths and medicine; to take some recreation; to follow a prescribed rule of diet, and not to expose himself to bad weather, or to variations of atmosphere. He neglected the two most important things, exercise and recreation. At length, on the 11th of June, we managed to overcome his repugnance to mercury, and I obtained his consent to make use of it. He took mercurial pills; he continued this course of medicine till the 15th; I gave him these pills morning and evening, and occasionally administered some purgatives, in order to remove constipation. At the end of six days, I changed the prescription, and substituted calomel for mercury; but this produced qualms, vomit-

ings, colic, and general uneasiness; and I ceased to employ it. I administered it again on the 19th; it caused the same disorders. I returned to the mercurial preparation, which I administered three times a-day. I interrupted this treatment on the 27th. The apartments are extremely damp: Napoleon had contracted a violent catarrh; he suffered from high fever and great irritation. I again resumed the mercurial course on the 2nd of July, and continued it until the 9th, but it produced no beneficial effect. The salivary glands remained in the same state. The wakefulness and irritation increased; attacks of giddiness became frequent. Two years of inactivity, a fatal climate, apartments ill aired and low, a treatment such as was never before heard of, isolation and abandonment: everything which wounds the soul was now in operation. Is it surprising that the hepatic functions should have become disordered? If anything strikes us as astonishing, it is that the progress of the disease has not been more rapid. This is solely owing to the patient's strength of mind, and to the goodness of a constitution which had not been debilitated by debauch."

* * *

As soon as this report reached Rome, Cardinal Fesch, and above all, Madame Mère, wished that it should be submitted to the attention of the most skilful physicians. Dr. Muchielli, physician to Madame, and the medical professors of the university, Jean Baptiste Bomba, Pierre Lupi, Dominique Morichini, and Joseph

Sisco, made a careful and deep examination of this report, after which they drew up and signed, on the 1st of February, 1819, the following consultation:—

"We, the undersigned, being assembled to consult concerning the health of the Emperor Napoleon; and after having carefully examined a report drawn up by Dr. O'Meara, who attended the patient up to the 25th of July, 1818, are all agreed in the following ideas:—

"1. The disease of the august patient consists of an obstruction of the liver, and a scorbutic discrasy.

"2. The means fitting to be employed in opposing the first of these diseases are,—a diet tempered by fresh vegetables, subacid fruits, animal substances easy of digestion, and calculated to furnish softening chyle; exercise in the open air, on foot, on horseback, or in a carriage; an airy habitation, exposed to the most healthy and salubrious winds; and finally, the use of remedies which may soothe and not excite the system: these are means which may be employed with success. Extract of sicuta, acid of potash, and a little saline mineral water, of the same kind as that of Tetteccio, in Tuscany, merit a preference as remedies.

"3. If the use of these medicines does not relieve the bowels, there may be employed, two or three times a week, a small dose of pills composed of soap, rhubarb, and sulphate of soda or potash, and rendered consistent by some extract of tarassaco; these pills to be taken before supper.

"4. In order to destroy the scorbutic discrasy, there must be employed, in the intervals between the

three means already mentioned, the purified juices of anti-scorbutic plants; *fumarisa* (fumiter), *beccabunga* (veronica beccabunga), *nasturgium aquaticum*, and, above all, *cochléaria*. For the purpose of restoring to the gums their natural consistence and vigour, use may be made of an opiate tooth-powder, composed of anti-scorbutic plants, kneaded together with conserve of roses.

"5. The hepatic disorder, with its consequences, above all the want of appetite, and flatulence, thus disappearing, use may be made of whey of mares' or asses' milk, mixed with the juices of some bitter but not aromatic plants, among which the different species of chicory claim the preference.

"6. Finally, during the hottest season, if the scorbutic disease does not oppose it, and that the continuance or increase of the obstruction of the liver requires it, apply, but with caution, cold or but slightly-heated baths, as also pumping on the right hypochondrial region.

"These prescriptions must be subject to the peculiar circumstances in which the august patient finds himself, and to his state at the moment when the chosen physician visits him."

During the short time that O'Meara remained at Longwood, I hastened to the surgery to take possession of his journal; he indicated to me the place where he had concealed it, in preparation for anything

that might happen. I afterwards forwarded it to England to him, after having read it to the Emperor, who remarked several errors in it; among others the following one:—Mr. O'Meara writes that Mons. de Talleyrand intercepted a letter written by the Duc d'Enghien to the Emperor, some hours before the sentence. The truth is, that the Duc d'Enghien wrote on the *proces-verbal* of interrogation, before signing it: "I earnestly request a private audience of the First Consul; my name, my rank, my mode of thinking, and the horror of my situation, give me reason to hope that he will not refuse my request." With this fact the Emperor did not become acquainted until after the execution of the sentence. Mons. de Talleyrand's share in this bloody drama is sufficiently great, without attributing to him a fault which he did not commit.

During more than two months, the contest with Sir Hudson Lowe, concerning the admission of an English physician into the service of the Emperor, was incessant. To all his offers the Grand Marshal or I answered—"Let us choose for ourselves, and place the person chosen in the same position as was at first enjoyed by Dr. O'Meara."

At length, on the 28th of September, no longer able to conceal from himself the rapid progress of disease, caused by the want of exercise, Sir H. Lowe enlarged the circle of our free walks, and left us for a time at rest. The Emperor's mind was less occupied by insults which were not daily recalled to him; he

gradually resumed his accustomed walks in his little garden, where it was easy for the orderly officer to get sight of him, either by day or by night, for the sentinels had orders to inform him as soon as they were certain that the Emperor had left his apartments.

The Emperor again resumed his habit of work, and dictated some notes about his return from Elba. The following are the most important.

CHAPTER II.

ON THE RETURN FROM ELBA.

MONSIEUR FLEURY DE CHABOULON makes up a romance in the work which he has published under the title of "Memoirs to serve as Aids to the History of the Private Life, Return, and Reign of Napoleon in 1815." The Emperor dictated to me a series of notes in refutation; in the first he says—"Mons. Fleury de Chaboulon, an auditor of the Council of State in 1814, was appointed Secretary of the Cabinet on my arrival at Lyons. This young man had attracted my attention as being full of fire and merit, and on his return from a mission to Bâle, whither he had gone to unravel the intrigues of Fouché and Mons. de Metternich, I appointed him Master of Requests; but he was never employed in my private Cabinet. Menneval and Fain are the only two persons who were in my confidence in this service. The other *employés* of the Cabinet almost never approached

me. All the conversation or propositions put into my mouth by this auditor, are inventions of his own; he makes me speak and think according to his personal opinions, or according to the talk of the *salons* which he frequents.

" I took the resolution of returning to France as soon as it was proved to me that the Bourbons considered themselves as the continuators of the third dynasty, and denied the legal existence of the republic and of the empire, which were, therefore, thenceforward only to be looked upon as usurping governments. The consequences of this system were flagrant; it became the business of the bishops to reclaim their sees, which had been suppressed by the concordat of 1801. The property of the clergy and of the *emigrés* must be restored to their former proprietors; those who had acquired this property were holders of stolen goods; for, from the moment that LouisXVIII. dated the acts of his government the seventeenth year of his reign, the former *seigneurs* had an incontestable right to protest against the spoliation of the republic, and exact the restoration of the property and privileges which they had lost through their devotion to the cause of the king. All the services rendered in foreign armies, in the army of Condé, in La Vendeé; all the acts of treachery committed for the purpose of opening the gates of France to the armies which were bringing back the lawful king, merited reward. All those rendered under the standards of the republic and empire were acts of felony.

" The Restoration, all-powerful as it was in the support of a million of foreign bayonets, recoiled before the impossibility of admitting such pretensions; but it awakened them, and this awaking, by wounding the opinion of the masses, rendered the return of the empire possible. The Government could not say with impunity to thirty millions of Frenchmen: ' All that you have done during the last twenty-five years, all that your victories have compelled Europe to acknowledge, is unlawful, because such is the will of your lawful monarch.' The idea is absurd.

" The revolution of 1789 was a general attack of the masses of the nation upon the privileged classes— the nobles occupied, either directly or indirectly, all the posts of justice, high and low; and besides enjoyed, under various forms, several feudal rights. They were exempt from the charges of the state, and yet enjoyed all the advantages accruing from them, by the exclusive possession of all lucrative and honourable employments. The principal aim of the revolution was to abolish these privileges, to remove these abuses, to destroy what yet remained of the ancient feudal edifice, to break the last links of the people's bondage, and to subject every citizen equally to support the expenses and charges of the state. It has established the legality of rights; every citizen, according to his talents, may attain to any employment. Before the revolution, France was composed of provinces, divided in an irregular manner, differing among one another both in extent and population. These provinces had

a great number of particular laws for the administration of civil and criminal justice. It was an assemblage of different states not yet melted together. The revolution destroyed all these little nations, in order to form from them a great one. It created a France whose territorial divisions are equal; it has made the civil and criminal laws the same everywhere, and subjected the whole of France to the same regulations and taxes; by it were effaced the traces of the ancient privileges of the provinces, and of their ancient parliaments. The half of the country changed its proprietors. France, in short, presented after the revolution the spectacle of thirty millions of inhabitants, circumscribed within their natural limits, composed of a single class of citizens, and governed by the same laws, the same regulations, and the same order of things.

" Some of the men who rose from the revolution were all corruption and versatility, such as Barrot, Tallien, Fouché, and Talleyrand, who had neither character nor virtue; it was such men as these who lost the cause of the people; but the revolution, in spite of their excesses, regenerated our manners.

" Robespierre was a blood-thirsty man, but he is wrongfully accused of the crimes committed by Hebert, Chaumette, Collot d'Herbois, Marat, Billaud de Varennes, Fouché, Joseph le Bon, Couthon, and others, who were infinitely more ferocious than he. It was a wonderful spectacle to see these fanatics steeping their hands in blood up to the elbow, and yet religiously

delivering to the republic all the money of which they despoiled their victims; every step was marked in blood, and yet they would have scrupled to commit the slightest dishonest action. Such was the influence of this fanaticism, that these men believed that in thus wallowing in the blood of their fellow-citizens, they were pursuing the path of honour and virtue.

"Had England, when Robespierre and Marat were letting the revolutionary axe fall on so many innocent heads, offered them two hundred millions to betray the republic, they would have indignantly rejected the offer. They condemned Fabre d'Eglantine to the guillotine on a charge of concession. Robespierre, towards the end of his career, wished to become more moderate; some time before his death, he frequently said that he was weary of executions, and that he thought of following another system. Far from being an atheist, as he has been accused of being, he maintained, in the tribune of the Convention, *the existence of a Supreme Being*. Neither did he think it necessary, as many of the revolutionists pretended that it was, to exterminate all the priests and nobles, in order to consolidate liberty in France; Marat, for example, demanded not less than six hundred thousand heads. Robespierre wished that the King should be put beyond the pale of the law, and not that the ridiculous mockery of trying him should be proceeded to. He was a fanatic, a monster; but he was incorruptible, and incapable of causing the death of any person from motives of vengeance or of personal interest; he

was an enthusiast, who believed he was acting in accordance with justice; he left not a *sou* behind him, and was, therefore, in this point of view, an honest man.

"When the execrable Hebert accused the Queen of *outraging nature*, Robespierre denounced him as having made so calumnious an accusation with the view of provoking the people to an insurrection in favour of that princess, by arousing feelings of interest for her.

"From the very commencement of the revolution, Louis XVI. had constantly had before his eyes the example of Charles I., who lost his head on the scaffold for having struggled hand to hand with the Parliament. This example prevented him on many occasions from openly opposing the efforts of the revolutionists. When they dared to bring him before their tribunal, he should simply have said, that, according to the constitution, he could do no evil, and that his person was sacred. The Queen should have done the same. This protest would not have saved their lives, but they would both have died with still more dignity. The Queen walked to the scaffold with a species of joy: it must have been a great relief to her to quit a life which was embittered and poisoned by such execrable barbarity.

"Carnot was a man of severe probity, laborious and sincere, but subject to the influence of intrigue, and easy to deceive. He directed the operations of the war without deserving the praise which has been

bestowed on him, because he had neither the experience nor the habit of war. He was a member of the Committee of Public Safety along with Robespierre, Couthon, and St. Just; and he was the only one whom the reaction of the 9th of Thermidor had no crime to reproach with. He demanded, however, to be judged along with those whom he continued to call his colleagues; this was refused: but his demand to share their fate does him great honour. He voted against the empire, but his conduct was always frank; he never gave umbrage; he never asked for anything during the prosperous days of the empire; but after the disasters of 1812 he offered his services, and the defence of Antwerp was confided to him; he displayed a noble character in this affair. He was Minister of the Interior after my return from Elba, and behaved with devotion to my cause. At the time of the abdication he was overreached by Fouché. He showed on every occasion great hatred towards the nobility, and yet he was of noble birth.

"Barrot was violent, irresolute, volatile, and of unbounded immorality.

"When the discussion relative to the sentence to be passed on Louis XVI. was opened, Condorcet declared that his conscience would not permit him to vote for death; that he should vote that this unfortunate monarch should be condemned to the galleys for life. This proposal was indignantly blamed, even by the most violent of the Jacobins; they said all manner of things against Condorcet. Tallien, Danton, Fouché,

would have betrayed all parties for money; they were always ready to sell themselves. Fouché never possessed the entire confidence of the Emperor, who never esteemed him, because he had been a terrorist, and one of the chiefs of the most violent party of the Jacobins, but who used him as an instrument for discovering and keeping an eye on the *septembriseurs* and the wrecks of Jacobinism. It was by this means that two hundred of these former *associés*, all people who might have troubled the tranquillity of France, were driven from it. Fouché remorselessly betrayed and sacrificed his former friends. As to Barrére, he had no decided character; he was a man who changed his party at will, and served them all successively. And lastly, Billaud de Varennes is *the most execrable man* who figured in the revolution; and Carnot *the most honest.* Sieyes was a man of great merit. He was a man of probity, and although fond of money, was incapable of obtaining it by any but legitimate means.

"All was chaos, social disorganisation, and danger to the revolution, at the end of the reign of the Directory. It is only from the consular government that the administrative reorganisation of new France really dates; and if the immorality of the government of the Directory did not bring back French society to the scandals and unbounded turpitude of the time of the Regency of Louis XV., it is because their return was no longer compatible with our manners; that it was impossible: for, in order that this

might take place, it would have been necessary to reproduce all the circumstances of those periods;—the absolute idleness of the higher classes, who then found no scene of activity for their passions except in licence; the chains which repressed, in the middle classes, the industrious fermentation which enlarges the thoughts and elevates the mind; in fine, to replunge the inferior classes into the state of debasement and degradation which assimilated them to beasts of burden. All these things were become impossible.

"The states-general of 1789 and the legislative assembly had given the death blow to the *ancien régime.*

"The constituent assembly had laid down principles and founded nothing.

"The Convention made everything level; it allowed nothing of the *ancien régime* to remain; its passage, a veritable torrent of lava, destroyed all that it could reach; it was at once atrocious as an interior administration, and splendid as a defence of national honour and independence. Its armies covered themselves with glory; its negotiations showed on all occasions that it was imbued with a noble and patriotic pride. The Committee of Public Safety wrote to the Convention: '*too much eagerness might be considered as a kind of advance; and this a great nation should never make where threatened;*' and on another occasion it prescribed in the following terms the recall of the commissary sent, at Madrid, for the exchange of prisoners: '*Recall Simonin immediately; he compro-*

mises the dignity of the French people:' the crime of this agent was that he had listened to, and transmitted to his government, the following proposal: 'The King of Spain is disposed to treat for peace on the following bases:

1. Spain shall recognise the French Republic.

2. France shall deliver the children of Louis XVI. to the care of his Catholic Majesty.

3. The French provinces bordering on Spain shall be formed into an independent State for the son of Louis XVI., which he shall govern sovereignly as King of Navarre.'

"The last acts of the Convention were the decree of the re-union of Belgium and the Bishopric of Liège to the Republic, and the signature of the peace with Prussia, Spain, Holland, and the Elector of Hesse-Cassel. In the meantime an unexpected event put arms into the hands of the enemies of the Convention, and recalled to mind the counsel given by Robespierre in the Committee of Public Safety during the discussion upon the trial of Louis XVI. '*Of what use*,' he had said, '*are these vain formalities, when you will condemn him to death, innocent or guilty? When a King is in question, it is better to get rid of him secretly.*'

"In the sitting of the 20th of Prairial, year III. (10th of June, 1795), the representative Sevestre, reporter of the Committee of Public Safety, reported that at two o'clock in the afternoon of the 8th, the son of the late King had died in the prison of the

Temple, and that two civil commissaries, appointed by the committee, had fulfilled the functions of municipal officers, by drawing up the act of decease, and causing autopsy and interment to be proceeded with; he further communicated the *proces-verbal* of the autopsy, and placed it, as well as the act of decease, on the president's table.*

"The acts of decease and interment proved that the Dauphin died on the 8th of June, 1795, in the tower

* The *proces-verbal* of the autopsy is as follows:—

"We, the undersigned, Jean Baptiste Eugène Dumangin, chief-surgeon of the *Hospice de Santé*, and Philippe Jean Pelleton, surgeon-in-chief of the great *Hospice de l'Humanité*, accompanied by the citizens Nicolas Jeanroy, formerly professor in the schools of medicine, in Paris, and Pierre Lassus, professor of legal medicine at the School of Health, in Paris, whom we took with us, in virtue of a decree of the committee of public safety of the National Convention, dated yesterday, and signed Bourgoing, President, Courtois Gauthier, and Pierre Guyonnard, for the purpose of proceeding together to the opening of the body of the son of the late Louis Capet, and examine its state, proceeded as follows:—

"Having all four arrived, at eleven o'clock, A.M., at the outer gate of the Temple, we were there received by the commissaries, who conducted us into the tower. On reaching the second floor, we entered an apartment, in the second room of which we found, on a bed, the dead body of a child, who appeared to us about ten years old. The commissaries informed us that this was the body of the son of the late Louis Capet, and two of our party recognised in it the child whom they had been medically attending for some days past. The above-mentioned commissaries declared to us that this child had died at about three o'clock the preceding afternoon; whereupon we looked for the signs by which to verify his death: these we found characterized by a universal pallor, the coldness of the

of the Temple, and that he was interred next day, June the 9th, in the cemetery of St. Marguerite, in the Faubourg St. Antoine, under the name of Louis Charles Capet.

" Spain at this time demanded, as the first condition of peace, the deliverance of the prisoners of the Temple; she even went so far as to say, that not only his Catholic Majesty, but also the King of Sardinia, would never consent to any friendly alli-

whole body, the stiffness of the limbs, the stillness of the eyes, the purple spots usual in the skin of a corpse, and, above all, by a putrefaction beginning in the stomach, the scrotum, and within the thighs.

" We remarked, before proceeding to open the body, a general emaciation, which was that of marasma. The stomach was much distended and meteorized; on the inside of the right knee, we remarked a tumour, not producing any change in the colour of the skin, and another of less size on the radius bone, near the hand, on the left side. The tumour on the knee contained about two ounces of a greyish, lymphatic matter, lying between the periosteum and the muscles; that on the arm contained matter of the same nature, but thicker.

" On the stomach being opened, more than a pint of purulent, yellowish, and very fœtid serum flowed from it. The intestines were meteorized, pale, and adhering to one another, as well as to the partitions of this cavity; a great number of tubercles of different sizes were scattered over them, which on being opened were found to contain the same matter as that found in the tubercles of the knee and arm.

" The intestines, opened along their whole length, were inwardly very healthy, and only contained a small quantity of bilious matter. The stomach presented the same state: it adhered to all the surrounding parts, was pale on the exterior, and scattered over with little lymphatic tubercles similar to those on the surface of the intestines; its internal membrane was healthy, as also the pylorus and œsophagus. The liver adhered by its con-

ance with the French republic until they had obtained a satisfaction founded on the strongest feelings of nature. Tuscany negotiated entirely with the same aim; the Committee of Public Safety found themselves embarrassed; they refrained from replying, and prescribed the same reserve to their negotiators; but on the evening of the 21st of Prairial, they hastened to expedite to them by extraordinary couriers, instructions to push the negotiations actively, adding as a

vexity to the diaphragm, and by its concavity to the viscera which it covers; its substance was healthy, its size ordinary, the vesicle of the gall moderately filled with a bile of a dark green colour; the spleen, pancreas, reins, and bladder were healthy. The epiploon and mesentery were without fat, and covered with lymphatic tubercles similar to those above mentioned.

"Similar tumours were scattered through the thickness of the peritoneum, which covers the interior surface of the diaphragm. That muscle was healthy.

"The lungs adhered by their whole surface to the pleura, the diaphragm, and the pericardium; their substance was healthy, and without tubercles; there were only a few about the trachea, and the œsophagus. The pericardium contained the usual quantity of serum; the heart was pale, but in its natural state.

"The brain and its dependencies were in the most perfect state of health.

"All the disorders of which we have here given a detail are evidently the effect of a scrofulous habit long in existence, and to which must be attributed the death of the child.

"The present *proces-verbal* was drawn up and closed at Paris, at the above-mentioned place, by the undersigned, at half-past four o'clock in the afternoon, the day and year above mentioned.

(Signed) "J. B. E. Dumangin.
"P. J. Pelleton.
"P. Lassus.
"N. Jeanroy."

postscript to their despatches, the news of the death of the son of Louis XVI.

"A few days afterwards, the Convention, on the report of Treilhard, authorized the Committee of Public Safety to negotiate the exchange of Louis XVIth's daughter for the representatives of the people, Quinette, Bancal, and Drouet, who had been taken from the army of the North, as well as the minister, Bournonville, and the ambassadors, Sémonville and Maret, on whom Austria had seized, on Swiss territory, while they were proceeding to their destination. This speech of Treilhard is remarkable:—

"'The moment is come,' said he, 'for fixing your eyes on the daughter of the last King of France, and on the other members of this family.

"'The safety of the state required their confinement, and you would have been wrong had you allowed foreign governments to interfere in a measure which belonged to the interior government of the republic. But now you are too strong for this rigour to be indispensable, and we come to propose to you to make use of an act of humanity in procuring a reparation of a great violation of the rights of nations. The blackest treason has delivered into the hands of Austria some representatives and ministers of the republic; this same power seized upon ambassadors of the republic on neutral ground; we offer to give up the daughter of Louis XVI. in exchange for the captives of Austria; it is for the reigning prince to decide whether he will sacrifice the ties of blood and of family

feeling to the desire of prolonging an odious and useless vengeance.' "

" The Constituent Assembly had done too much, and not enough; it was composed of men endowed with the greatest talents, but possessing no experience; it committed two faults which tended to bring on the ruin of the nation: the first was, desiring a constitution contrary to the experience of all ages and nations, and the mechanism of which tended, not to give strength to social order and authority, but to restrain and annul the strength of the people, which is that of the government. Great as was this fault, however, it was not of so much importance, and had not such deplorable effects, as that of having persisted in endeavouring to re-establish Louis XVI. on the throne, after the event of Varennes. What, then, should the assembly have done? It should have sent express commissioners to Varennes, not to bring back the king to Paris, but to open a way for him, and conduct him in safety beyond the frontiers; it should have passed decrees founded on the constitution which he had abdicated; have proclaimed King Louis XVII., created a regency, and confided the care of the minor king to a princess of the house of Condé; and chosen a council for the regency, and ministers, from the principal members of the Constituent Assembly. A government so conformable to principles, and so national, would have found remedies for the inconveniences of the constitution; the force of circumstances would soon have caused the necessary modifications to be adopted: it

is probable that France would thus have triumphed over her internal and external enemies, and that she would have known neither anarchy nor revolutionary government.

"By the time the king attained his majority, the revolution would have struck such root that it would have been safe from any attempt against it: to act otherwise than thus, was to confide the helm of the ship, in the midst of the most frightful tempest, to a pilot who could no longer govern it; it was to summon the crew to insurrection and revolt, in the name of public safety; it was to arouse anarchy.

"The Royalists had formed the right side of the Constituent Assembly; the Constitutionalists had formed the left side, and had headed the people; but in the Legislative Assembly, the Constitutionalists formed the right side, and the Girondins the left; the latter, in their turn, formed the right side in the Convention, and the party called that of the Mountain, the left, directing the popular party. The Constitutionalists had demanded, in the Constituent Assembly, the expulsion from Paris of the troops of the line, laying down the principle that the assembly ought to be guarded by the national guards; in the Legislative Assembly they maintained an opposite opinion, and loudly called for the troops of the line; but the Girondins indignantly repulsed the idea of employing any paid army against the wishes of the majority of the people. La Gironde, in its turn, claimed the protection of a regular army against the popular party; thus

all parties alternately changed their opinions according to circumstances.

"The factions of the Gironde and the Mountain were too violent against each other. If they had both continued in force, the administration would have been shackled, and the republic would have been unable to struggle against the whole of Europe, which was allied against it. The good fortune of the country caused one of them to triumph. On the 31st of May, the Gironde gave way, and the Mountain ruled without opposition; the result is known: the campaigns of 1793 and 1794 saved France from foreign invasion. Would the same result have been obtained, had the Gironde gained the upper hand, and the Mountain been sacrificed on the 31st of May? We do not think so. The Mountain party, even when repressed, would still have retained a great influence in Paris, in the popular societies, and in the army, and this circumstance would have induced the Gironde to be more cautious in their proceedings against the parties inimical to the revolution, and thus have essentially diminished the entire energy of the nation, which was necessary in the circumstances.

"There was, doubtless, more talent among the adherents of the Gironde than among those of the Mountain; but the Gironde was composed of more speculative men, who had less of character and a less determined will; they would have governed with more mildness, and it is probable that, under their rule, only a part of those excesses committed by the revolutionary

government of the Mountain, would have occurred. The Gironde party ruled in the towns of Lyons, Marseilles, Toulon, Montpellier, Nismes, Bordeaux, and Brest, and in several provinces; the Mountain had its centre in Paris, and was supported by all the Jacobins of France. It triumphed on the 31st of May: twenty-two deputies, chiefs of the Gironde, were proscribed. Sixty-six departments, enraged at this proceeding, ran to arms; the people of Paris had, they said, usurped the national sovereignty; they levied battalions and commenced a civil war; but the Mountain, supreme in the Convention, supported by the popular societies and by the armies, and having, besides, at its disposal the treasury and the copper-plate for assignats, laughed at the vain threats of the Federalists. The small army which Calvados marched upon Paris was defeated by a few squadrons of gens-d'armes; in a few weeks the whole republic was quiet, except Lyons, Marseilles, Toulon, and some towns in Languedoc. Lyons, when besieged by a part of the army of the Alps, and by battalions of volunteers levied in Burgundy and Auvergne, made a long and brilliant resistance; its national guard had been organized long before; it reckoned among its ranks 3000 refugees from the southern provinces, and among these were a good number of old officers. Marseilles and Toulon sent 6000 men, composed of the national guards, to its aid; Montpellier and Nismes sent 4000. It was arranged that these two divisions should join each other at Orange, and thence proceed to Lyons.

The representatives of the people then in the army of the Alps ordered from Grenoble 2000 infantry of the line, 500 mounted *Allobroges*, and two batteries of artillery, under the command of Adjutant-General Cartaux. This little column descended the left bank of the Rhone, met the vanguard of the Marseillais at Orange, put it to flight, then marched rapidly upon the Pont St. Esprit, dispersed the vanguard of the Nimois, occupied the castle, and having marched upon Avignon, expelled from it, on the 16th of July, the Marseillaise army, which hastily recrossed the Durance. Cartaux took possession of Aix on the 20th of August, attacked the camp of the Federalists at Septimieux, stormed it, although it was entrenched and defended by twenty large pieces of cannon, and entered Marseilles, which was a prey to all the fury of civil war.

"The sections Nos. 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, had declared for the Mountain. They had summoned the municipality to recognise the Convention. This had been indignantly refused; and arms had been taken up. The contest was still raging, when the fugitives from the camp of Septimieux announced the loss of the battle. At the same moment the Allobroges took possession of the Porte d'Aix. The chiefs of the Federalists, alarmed, fled to Toulon, accompanied by a thousand men.

"Intelligence of Cartaux's entry into Aix had been received at Toulon on the 22nd of August. On this news the sections no longer kept measures; they arrested and imprisoned in the fort of La Malgue the

representatives of the people, Bayle and Beauvais, who were at Toulon on a mission. The representatives, Freron, Barras, and General Lapoysse escaped to Nice, the head quarters of the army of Italy. The authorities of Toulon were all compromised; they had all taken part in the revolt; the municipalities, the director of the department, the intendant of the navy, almost all the *employés* of the arsenal, the Vice-Admiral Trogoff, commander of the squadron, and a great many officers—they all felt equally guilty; and knowing with what enemies they had to do, saw no prospect of safety but in treachery. They gave up the squadron, the port, the arsenal, the town, and the forts, to the enemies of France. The squadron, consisting of eighteen ships of the line, and several frigates, was moored in the roads; though betrayed by its admiral, it remained faithful, and defended itself against the English and Spanish fleets; but, abandoned by the mainland, and threatened by the very batteries which ought to have protected it, it at length yielded."

"The fall of the municipality on the 31st of May, of Danton, and of Robespierre, brought on the termination of the revolutionary government. From that time the Convention was successively governed by factions unable to gain any lasting preponderance. Its principles varied every month; a frightful re-action afflicted the interior of the republic; the domains

ceased to be sold, and the discredit of the assignats increased every day in a disastrous proportion. The armies found themselves without pay; requisitions and the maximum had alone maintained abundance among their ranks; even the bread of the soldier was not secured. The levying of recruits, the laws concerning which had been executed with the greatest rigour under the revolutionary government, ceased; the armies continued to be successful, because they had never been more numerous; but they experienced daily diminutions, which there were no means of repairing.

"The party of the foreigner, which supported itself by the pretext of the re-establishment of the Bourbons, daily gained fresh strength; communications with foreign powers had become more easy; the destruction of the republic was openly plotted; the revolution was grown old; it had favoured many interests; a hand of iron had passed over individuals; many crimes had been committed. These were now all eagerly dragged to light for the purpose of exciting public animadversion against those who had governed, administered, or participated in any way whatever in the success of the revolution. Pichegru had sold himself; the proselytes of the enemies of the republic were not, however, numerous in the army; it remained faithful to the principles for which it had shed so much blood, and gained so many victories. All parties were weary of the Convention; it was weary of itself: it saw, in short, that the safety of the country and its

own demanded the fulfilment of its mission without delay. It decreed, on the 21st of June, 1795, the Constitution known as the Constitution of the year III., which confided the government to five persons, under the name of a Directory, and the legislature to two councils, called the Council of the Five Hundred and the Council of the Ancients. This constitution was submitted to the acceptance of the people, collected in a primary assembly.

"The Directory was mastered by its own weakness; war was necessary to its existence, as peace is to that of any other government. It feared the return of the armies; it leaned for support on the victories of its generals, but it was jealous of their glory, and laboured to sow dissension among them. It never permitted them to grow old in their command; it recalled them on the slightest pretext, and always after a victory. It was thus that it removed Championnet from his command, after the conquest of Naples, and that the excellent general, Joubert, found his dismissal at Turin, where he just rendered the republicans the service of dethroning a king; and the expedition to Egypt was much more the result of fear entertained of the negotiator of Campo Formio than that of a policy, grand, glorious, and worthy of the nation.

"The Directory did not feel that it had friends; it trembled before the acclamations which everywhere welcomed the liberator of Italy. It was this same system of jealousy which led it to avail itself of Moreau's letter about the waggons of Klinglin, in

order to spread the accusation of treachery against Pichegru, and embroil these two illustrious generals by mutual calumniations, in order that there might be no rival to its own superiority in the republic. The Directory followed the example of the Greeks in ostracism; let the slightest danger to itself occur, and it poured its dismissals on the interior administration, as well as on the army.

"On the 18th of Fructidor, and on the occasion of the elections of the year VI., it evinced nought but a restless and blind egotism.

"The Directory was aware how greatly it was the interest of republican France to surround itself with republics; but it spoiled everything it touched, by the protection which it granted to the extortion and wastefulness of its agents in these new republics. In fine, the system of the Directory was, to rule at the expense of justice, of the constitution, and of sound reason; to sow division, in order to reign, to proscribe, to enrich its creatures, and disturb Europe.

"The consular government repaired the faults of the Directory, and healed all the wounds inflicted on the social body by the tempest of the revolution.

"The empire had need of the aid of time, in order to make the French the most prosperous of nations, and the title of a French citizen the best right to the respect of men. The imperial throne had for its base popular interest. The throne of the Bourbons, like all the old painted-up classes, will only last so long as the people do not feel their own power. Such edifices

will always fall to pieces, because of the fault in their foundations; and the time is not far off, when no royalty, except that of which popular election is the principle, will be possible. I conquered kings, to the profit of royalty, of common interest, and of nations: kings have conquered me, to the profit of nations alone; they will repent of it sooner or later.

"The march from Cannes to Paris is unexampled in history; it was the unanimous impulse of a whole great people hastening to meet their liberator. The charter is only a manner of reigning, like any other, and so much the more convenient, as it implicitly places an unequalled power in the hands of the sovereign, in order to impose on the nation charges which no absolute king would dare or would be able to exact. Neither Louis XVI. nor Napoleon, who are the examples of the most powerful royal authority to which France was ever subjected, had had it in their power to raise the budget of the state to the enormous sum which it attained under the rule of the charter.

"In order that the legislative majorities should be the expression of the national will, it would be necessary that, instead of being composed of men who enrich themselves by their squandering of the revenues and offices of the state, they should be composed of men contributing to the defraying of the charges in a proportion which should make the defence of the general interest their primary interest; it would at least be necessary that the law of election should be one of

the articles of the charter, and that this first step in the ladder of all constitutional systems should thus be placed beyond the reach of the caprice or interest of a minister. The charter, such as it was given by Louis XVIII., is a simple emanation of the royal authority; it is a deception. But doubtless, France, conquered by the Coalition of Europe, and seeing its capital delivered by treachery into the hands of a Prussian general, was obliged to receive with gratitude from the royal power a concession so important to its liberties.

"Had the reins of government fallen, in 1814, into the hands of a Cardinal Richelieu, a Mazarin, a Necker, or a Vergennes, how impossible would it have been for the feudal king to reign after the allied army should have quitted the French soil!

"The counter-revolution could only be effected under the protection of foreign bayonets. The allied princes had no choice: if they wished to secure the stability of the government which they left in France, it was necessary either at once to bring about the counter-revolution, or to acknowledge Napoleon II. The republic would also have had chances of duration, if it had possessed as a basis, the unity of the executive power; for any other republican combination is by its nature ephemeral and convulsive, unless it is the tyranny of a powerful aristocracy, like that of Venice.

"The position of Louis XVIII., on re-entering Paris, might in some measure be compared to that of Henry IV. This prince abjured his religion, in order to attain his

crown; and when Sully and the chiefs of the Huguenots were deliberating at Beauvais, as to what was the best to be done, he said to them, 'There are but two courses from which to choose;—to abjure, or to destroy all the religious feelings of the masses by force of arms, and mount to the throne over the corpses of the *élite* of the nation.' He was right; and Louis XVIII. ought, like him, to have abjured, and at once made himself king of *La France Nouvelle*, if he desired to make Frenchmen forget the humiliation of his return among them, and to secure them against the pretensions of the privileges which he brought back in his train."

CHAPTER III.

CONTINUED DISAGREEMENTS WITH SIR H. LOWE.

In the beginning of November, 1818, Sir Hudson Lowe communicated to me a despatch which he had received from Lord Bathurst, announcing the departure from Italy of two priests, a physician, a maitre d'hotel, and a cook, sent by Cardinal Fesch for the service of Longwood. This news was received by us with lively joy, for the want of medical assistance often caused us great uneasiness, on account of the Emperor's declining state of health. So impossible was it to be deceived on this point, that the Commissioners became alarmed, and lost no opportunity of testifying their solicitude to us. Sir Hudson Lowe himself was uneasy; at least he seemed to be so, by his urgency in insisting that one of the English me-

dical men then in the island should be admitted at Longwood, although at the same time he persisted in refusing to re-establish matters, in favour of this admission, in the same state in which Admiral Cockburn had left them.

Towards the end of December, the Emperor became worse. On the 1st of January, 1819, he could not quit his bedroom; the swelling of his legs and joints prevented him from dressing. On the 6th of January, he was taken ill while at work; on the 10th, the Grand Marshal obtained permission to send for Dr. Stokoe, of the 'Conqueror;' on the 16th and 17th, fresh crises; on the 17th, at nine o'clock in the evening, the Grand Marshal wrote the following note to Dr. Stokoe:—

"SIR,—I expected you this evening; it is nine o'clock, and you have not arrived; since you last saw the Emperor, his debility has constantly increased; he is more restless. I entreat you to come as soon as possible.

"I have the honour to be,
&c. &c. &c.
"BERTRAND."

On the 19th, Dr. Stokoe not having come, as he had promised, the Grand Marshal again wrote:—

"SIR,—You should have been at Longwood at ten

o'clock; it is now noon. I beg you to come as soon as you receive this.

"I have the honour to be,
&c. &c. &c.
"BERTRAND.

"Longwood, January 19, 1819."

When the doctor arrived, he excused himself for his apparent negligence, by informing us of the difficulties which he had experienced in obtaining permission to quit the admiral's vessel; and before leaving Longwood, he wrote the following letter to the Grand Marshal:—

"SIR,—From what has happened to me to-day, I have great reason to believe that my visits to Longwood will be suspended, either by an order from my superiors, or by this duty being made so disagreeable to me, that I shall find myself obliged to decline the honour of fulfilling it. In either of these cases, as I shall have no opportunity of communicating with you on the subject, I request you to use all your efforts to persuade the illustrious patient to pursue a treatment which will, I hope, combat with success the danger which threatens him.

"Disease of the liver cannot, in any case, be neglected in a climate like that of St. Helena; and although the symptoms which have long been manifesting themselves indicate a chronic state of disease, it is impossible to know whether a fatal change in the

course of the disease may not instantaneously take place. The torpid state of the liver, and the frequent oppression of the intestines, caused by the derangement of the digestive organs, tend to affect the brain, a tendency which announced itself in an alarming manner during Saturday night. I therefore earnestly entreat you to do everything in your power, in case I should not again be admitted to the honour of giving my advice, to obtain his consent to receive Dr. Weeling.

"I have the honour to be,
&c. &c. &c.
"JOHN STOKOE.

"Eleven o'clock, A.M., January 19, 1819."

The Emperor afterwards dictated to me the following note, which I forwarded to Plantation House.

"It is necessary that Dr. Stokoe should remain at Longwood, if he is to pursue the treatment which has been interrupted since the departure of Mr. O'Meara, that is to say, during six months; which interruption has greatly increased the disease of the liver, the first symptoms of which appeared sixteen months ago. The whole system of life is deranged: it is necessary for the doctor to see his patient several times a day.

"The attack which took place on the day before yesterday, was the fifth which has occurred within six months; they always come on at night. Count Bertrand or Count Montholon has always been with the Emperor

during them, without any medical man; but the attacks were never before so serious as that which took place the other night, when for a moment they despaired of his life. Count Bertrand offered to send for Dr. Weeling; the patient refused to permit it; the proposal alone altered his countenance, and immediately increased the violence of the attack; this determined Count Bertrand to send for Dr. Stokoe, at two o'clock in the morning; he arrived at six: the orderly officer not being authorized to write to the town, he was obliged to ask permission of the Governor to do so, and this doubled the distance. The doctor arrived too late; but happily the strength of the patient's constitution had overcome the crisis. Thus were verified the words contained in Count Montholon's letter to the Governor of the 25th of July last, when Dr. O'Meara had been torn away from Longwood, but was still at James Town: '*That even in the agonies of death, he will receive no assistance, nor take any remedies, but from the hands of his own physician, and if he is deprived of him, he will receive no one, and will consider himself assassinated by you.*'

" When Dr. Stokoe arrived, he went to Bertrand: the latter proposed to him to fill Dr. O'Meara's place, and presented to him the seven articles, which have since been forwarded to the Governor. He accepted the offer, and was then introduced to the patient. The Governor could not prevent this transaction, either directly or indirectly, without throwing off the mask.

"Thus the treatment of the disease, interrupted during six months, is now again adjourned until the arrival of the French physician. The disease of the liver will make still greater ravages during this period, and if it should at length become incurable, who will have killed the Emperor? What has occurred during the last six months gives reason to fear a crisis every month, and if we send for Dr. Stokoe, he will arrive too late! If, one day, he finds the patient dead, who will have killed him? The world and history will answer loudly.

"Longwood, January 19, 1819."

The orderly dragoon who had taken this letter to Plantation House, brought it back to me, accompanied by the following note:—

"No communication relative to Napoleon Bonaparte can be received unless it bears his signature, or that of one of his officers, who must in this case clearly declare that he writes and signs by his order.

"When the paper herewith returned shall be thus signed, its contents will receive a reply.

"Plantation House, January 19, 1819."

On the 20th of January, Dr. Stokoe wrote as follows to Sir Hudson Lowe:

"SIR,—On my arrival at Longwood, whither I was summoned to bleed Napoleon Bonaparte, Count Bertrand appeared to me to be greatly agitated, and

asked me the cause of my long absence. I replied, that you had not received the communication from Longwood (on receiving which alone you could give me a passport) until the afternoon.

" I found the patient in a state of fever, with considerable heat of the skin, and an aggravation of headache. His bowels had not been relieved for twenty-four hours; and fearing an attack similar to that of Saturday evening, I advised the letting of blood, and an active purgative, to both which, however, he testified an equal and great repugnance, and probably wished to try the effect of chance. Towards three o'clock in the morning, I was summoned to accompany Count Bertrand to the patient's apartment. I found none of the symptoms dissipated, and therefore strongly urged bleeding, to which he consented, and experienced immediate relief. He also took a strong dose of Cheltenham salts.

" I took this opportunity to examine the region of the liver, and am now completely convinced of the organic disease of this region, having become perfectly aware of its state of hardness. I have consequently recommended a course of mercury, in addition to the other remedies which may be judged necessary on account of the patient's constitution.

" I have the honour to be,

&c. &c. &c.

" JOHN STOKOE.

" Longwood, January 20, 1819."

The next day Dr. Stokoe again wrote as follows:

"SIR,—About an hour after my arrival at Longwood, I saw Napoleon Bonaparte; the fever is abated, but he complains of pain in the side. The purgative produced violent colic. I have seen him again this morning; the colic has discontinued, but the pain in the side remains. I recommended a warm bath, which was taken immediately, and in which he still was when I left Longwood.

"I plainly perceived it to be necessary that he should immediately commence a mercurial treatment, and told him, that under this conviction I should propose pills, and would send them to him on my return to the town, with instructions for taking them, in case I should not be able to continue my visits at Longwood, under the circumstances in which I am placed, and which fact I had explained to you, requesting you to inform Count Bertrand of it. He replied, that he would take no medicine except from the hands of his own physician.

"I have the honour to be,

&c. &c. &c.

"JOHN STOKOE.

"January 21, 1819.

"P.S.—I request you to take into consideration that, my responsibility and my honour being equally compromised, I cannot take upon myself the charge of a patient of such importance and so seriously ill, in

the disagreeable situation in which I am placed; not being free to attend to him at any moment, or in case of a catastrophe; it is in the apprehension of such an event, and in order that my name may not be compromised in the matter, that I demand, either to be appointed physician to Napoleon, conformably to the conditions which have been submitted to you, or to remain in my situation of surgeon of the 'Conqueror,' and to be freed from the responsibility which weighs upon my name, and of which I foresee the alarming consequences.

"JOHN STOKOE."

Dr. Stokoe came no more to Longwood, and the Emperor received no further medical assistance. A strict diet, milk of almonds, and baths, arrested the progress of the disease; but the Emperor never quitted his chamber; and for six weeks no Englishman had caught sight of him, when, on the 20th of March, Sir Hudson Lowe came to me and said, "Sir, I have just learned with regret that complaints were being made concerning the provisions. I have testified my great disapprobation to the orderly officer; he is certainly very much to blame, since he has the strictest orders to see that this service is performed with the greatest exactness. I have always taken the greatest care, in order to prevent cause for complaint being given, and that everything should be provided of the best quality which this country can furnish. I know what care Count Bertrand takes to get all the complaints he can

think of published in the papers. It is very hard that I, who take so much care to avoid doing what is disagreeable, should constantly be the victim of calumnies; as for example, that when I pay every attention and regard to the Emperor's feelings, I should be presented as an object of ridicule to the eyes of the European powers; and that the commissioners of the great powers should say to me themselves that they have been obliged to write to their courts, that Count Bertrand had declared to them that I was a fool; that notwithstanding I gave occasion to so many complaints from the whole of Europe, I could not be sure that the Emperor was at Longwood; that I had been forty days without seeing him, and that he might be dead, and even putrefied, and I should know nothing of it. I have long known of this conversation, but I have never said anything about it; to-day, however, I have the permission of the person who told it to me to cite it, and I am ready to prove to Count Bertrand that he used these expressions. You will allow, Sir, that when my reiterated instructions are positive to the effect that the orderly officer should see Napoleon twice a day, and when I am blamed for not fulfilling my duty in this point, it is my duty now to exact that the orders of my government shall be obeyed.

"The newspapers, and particularly the Edinburgh Review, are full of articles which represent me as an assassin. I have no longer any delicacies to respect; I have only to enforce the orders of my government. I forwarded to you the communications of my govern-

ment on this point; I awaited the commands of Napoleon, in order to give any explanations which might be desired; but in the meantime, it is necessary that the orderly officer should see him every day: let this be accomplished in whatever way Napoleon may please; all I ask is that he may see him. It is quite impossible for me to allow any vessel to leave St. Helena without accounts of the orderly officer having seen him; there is one now awaiting the report of the orderly officer, before sailing." When he ceased speaking, I answered, after a moment's silence: "Count Bertrand and myself have both informed you, sir, that you should never violate the Emperor's privacy, without forcing his doors and shedding blood."

On the 21st of March, 1819, the orderly officer brought a sealed packet, with the superscription—

"For Napoleon Bonaparte."

On the 25th, another packet, with the same superscription, was brought to me by the orderly officer; and finally, on the 28th, Major Gorriquer delivered to me the following memorandum, addressed to me, without date or signature, but in Sir H. Lowe's handwriting:—

"If the proposals contained in the first letter, in which the Governor declared that he was ready to give any explanations which might be asked of him, are agreed to, it is not necessary to deliver the second letter, which in this case the Governor consents to have returned to him; but if the first proposals are

not accepted, the second note is to be considered as communicated, and the rules which it establishes are in future to be conformed to."

On the 1st of April, the Emperor dictated to me a reply to these three communications:—

"Longwood, April 1, 1819.

"SIR,—I received a packet from you, which the orderly officer delivered to me on the 21st of March; my first movement was to open it, believing that it was addressed to me, and it was only on reading it that I became aware of my error. On the 25th of March, the orderly officer brought me another packet; I was at that time without the use of my limbs: Dr. Weeling had just applied blisters. I begged Capt. Nicholls to take this letter to Count Bertrand, as I was quite unable to quit my bed, or attend to business of any kind. In the middle of the night, without having any regard for the violent fever and great pain under which I was labouring, he came back, violated the privacy of my house, declared that he was forbidden to communicate with Count Bertrand, and left the letter on my night-table. On the 28th, Mr. Gorriquer, your aide-de-camp, came twice to my apartment, accompanied by the orderly officer; they found me in bed, and suffering much. I begged them to take the letter, which still lay in the same place, to Count Bertrand, declaring to them that I was not in a con-

dition to occupy myself with any business, that I had taken medicine, and that my situation required repose. They refused.

" My gouty affection having, during these two days, diminished in violence, and settled in the knees, I profit by this interval of relief to lay before you my complaints of the persecution of which I have been made the object, and of the great want of respect shown to my apartments by the orderly officer, by day or night, notwithstanding my suffering condition.

" To-day, at eleven o'clock, I dragged myself to the Emperor's room; I found him in bed, and suffering a great deal. He refused to take any notice of the two letters, as they were not addressed in the form which has been in use during the last four years.

" I have the honour to return them to you. If you desire that I should translate them, in order that the Emperor may take notice of their contents, as soon as his health shall permit, I request you to send me their contents, expressed in the forms which have been for four years in use.

" The Emperor is more than ever in need of a medical attendant. I have urged him strongly on the subject. I have assured him, 1stly, that he might select one from the officers of health now in this island, in consequence of Lord Bathurst's letter of the 18th of May. To this he objected, that notwithstanding this, in the month of January previous, the attendance

of Dr. Stokoe, whom he had selected, had been refused, on the ground that this gentleman's services were necessary to the navy, and that a week afterwards he had been despatched to England. I persisted in my opinion, and assured him, 2ndly, that the physician whom he should choose would be considered as the person mentioned in the decree of your government of the 15th of August. 3rdly, That he would receive assurances that this physician should remain with him at least as long as his illness lasted, and that the physician would be considered as his own. 4thly, That this physician would not be obliged to render an account of the Emperor's health to any one whatever. 5thly, That he would be authorized to draw up, every week, or more frequently if it were necessary, a bulletin, the original of which would remain in our hands. 6thly, That he would be free to communicate at any moment, verbally or in writing, by day or night, with the French inhabitants of Longwood. 7thly, That he would give a promise not to render an account to any person whatever of the conversations which he might hear at Longwood,—a reservation being made, on all these points, of his oath of allegiance to his country and his sovereign.

"As soon therefore, sir, as you shall have communicated to me your approbation of these seven articles, he will immediately select a physician. It is to be desired that medical skill may be in time to arrest the progress of the disease, which has been increasing in

violence during the space of sixteen months; at all events it will, I hope, afford great relief.

"I have the honour to be, Sir,
"Your most humble and obedient servant,
"GENERAL COUNT MONTHOLON."

On this same day, Sir Thomas Reade sent me back my despatch, accompanied by the following note:—

"SIR,—I am charged by the Governor to return to you the enclosed papers. You are perfectly aware that he can receive no letter in which you make use of the title of Emperor.

"The enclosed despatches of the Governor having been expressed in an admitted form, give to Napoleon Bonaparte full liberty to select from among the medical men on this island the one who may suit him, under the simple conditions prescribed to the Governor by Lord Bathurst's letter of the 16th of February, 1818, which contain the only rules which he can obey on this point.

"The orderly officer will be questioned concerning the circumstances under which he delivered the Governor's second despatch to you.

"The proposals contained in the despatch of the 21st of March, which have been, as you told Major Gorriquer, already translated and communicated to Napoleon Bonaparte, not having been accepted, the Governor charges me to declare, that he must necessarily consider the rules prescribed by the despatch

of the 25th of March, of the contents of which Major Gorriquer has informed you, as having full and entire force of execution, except the first seven propositions should be acceded to.

"I have the honour to be, &c. &c.,

"READE,

"Lieut.-Col. Dep. Adjutant-General.

"April 1, 1819."

Next day, April 2nd, at seven in the morning, I wrote to the Governor the following letter, which the Emperor had dictated to me during the night:—

"Longwood, April 2, 1819.

"SIR,—As you return my letters, I have the honour to return yours.

"I have the honour to be, Sir,

"Your most humble and obedient servant,

(Signed) "COUNT MONTHOLON.

"N.B. List of papers enclosed:—

"1. Sir Thomas Reade's letter of the 1st of April.

"2. That of Lieut.-Colonel Wynyard, of the 2nd of April, with the copy of the letter written by O'Meara to Lord Keith.

"3. Another from Colonel Wynyard, returning to me mine of the 2nd of April, in the morning."

On the 3rd of April I again wrote to Sir Hudson Lowe, by order of the Emperor, as follows:—

"Longwood, April 3, 1819.

"SIR,—I returned to you Sir Thomas Reade's letter, dated April 1st, and your other letters,—1stly, because you returned me mine; 2ndly, because the Emperor never has taken, nor will take notice of or reply to, letters not signed with your own hand. You have again sent them back to me; I have placed them along with the two letters which you transmitted to me on the 21st and 25th of March, of which the Emperor would take no notice, considering himself affronted by the superscription, and the form in which they were expressed being contrary to that established during a period of four years. I consequently returned them to you, and I have since laid them by. All these communications must, then, be looked upon as not delivered: these letters have been put aside, and are at your disposal. Any other packets or letters which you may send, and which do not conform to the usages so long established, will experience the same fate; the Emperor will never take notice of them: you will never receive replies to them; they will be considered as not delivered. Spare yourself, then, the trouble of writing them; for the purpose of writing letters is to have them read, and to receive answers; and, as regards the Emperor, all letters wanting in the proper form are *written in Chinese*. I am again ill. Dr. Weeling has ordered me to keep quiet, and not to leave my bed; address yourself to Count Bertrand. It is not just that I should bear the whole weight of this singular correspondence; besides, my health does

not allow of it. Whatever may be addressed to me during my relapse, I will not open; it agitates me too much, and retards my recovery.

"I have the honour to be, Sir,
"Your most humble and obedient servant,
(Signed) "GENERAL COUNT MONTHOLON."

On the 4th of April, the Governor again wrote to me. On the 8th, I replied as follows, by order of the Emperor:—

"Longwood, April 8th, 1819.

"SIR,—I have received your letter of the 4th, to which was joined my last letter, which you returned to me; allow me to imitate your proceeding, and return yours. It is impossible to pretend to write to a person, and at the same time refuse to receive his answers. Since the time of our arrival in St. Helena, Count Bertrand and myself together have written to you eighty letters, all containing the title 'Emperor Napoleon;' you have replied to them all, using, however, it is true, the name 'Napoleon Bonaparte,' which fact I concealed from him, in translating them: this is an arrangement which has become a custom, from which I will never depart.

"I informed you in my letter of the 17th of November last, that if it is easy to kill the Emperor, it is impossible to take from him his sacred character, indelibly imprinted on his person; you may think yourself authorized by your position to insult him, but I will never permit myself such baseness.

"You consider yourself offended by Count Bertrand; from that moment you have no right to judge of his conduct: you are a party, and cannot possess the *sang-froid* necessary in order to be a judge. I do not know whether Count Bertrand wrote the letter to Count Las Cases, which has been printed in the 'Morning Chronicle;' but what I *do* know, and can tell you, is, that when I translated it to the Emperor, he found it perfectly accurate in all things, although expressing but feebly the conduct which you pursue towards him, in order to shorten his days. Those who printed that letter were wrong in naming individuals under your authority; they have thus compromised them: you have perhaps taken advantage of this, and have obliged them to sign letters which you dictated.

"In your letter of the 27th of July, 1817, relative to the set of chess-men offered by Mr. Elphinstone, you glory in professing your principles. You several times remark that books and newspapers might be concealed in bundles of foul linen; and, in fact, for a long time, the orderly officer Blackney's lodging was encumbered during several days of every week with this linen, much to the disgust of this brave officer and of all those who entered his rooms. Permit me, sir, to cite to you another trait of what is done and practised in this island. A lady is in a dying condition: Drs. Weeling and Livingstone declared in proper terms, on the 1st of April, in a special consultation, that it was necessary for her immediately to quit St. Helena, because she was attacked by the disease of the liver,

endemic in this island; that she had no chance of recovery, except from the influence of the air of Europe. I immediately requested these physicians, addressing myself to Mr. Livingstone, to give me their opinion in writing; they consented to do so, but afterwards retracted their consent; alleging that a conclusion would be drawn from this, that the Emperor Napoleon being attacked by the same disease, a change of climate was necessary for him. But can you, then, pretend to deny that disease of the liver is endemic in this country? that individuals who are attacked by it ought to have a change of air, and to breathe that of northern climates? Is there one medical man among those who are, or have been here, who dares to lie to his conscience, and deny that disease of the liver and inflammation of the bowels are diseases endemic in the island of St. Helena? Have not sailors and soldiers, attacked by hepatitis, been sent to Europe? Do not even Creoles, who have never before quitted the island, receive advice from the physicians, when attacked by this disease, to go and seek recovery in England? What influence can the circumstance of the Countess Montholon's illness then have? what motive can you have for opposing, either directly or indirectly, the giving of the physicians' opinion in writing?—a thing necessary to her satisfaction and to her honour; for the more horrible our sojourn in this island has become, through the treatment we receive from you, the more strongly does honour command us to withdraw ourselves from such treatment only by a recognised necessity.

"It now remains for me, sir, to beg you to adopt one of the two following courses: either to conform in your correspondence to the forms so long in use, or to write no more to me; for I cannot receive letters without having liberty to answer them; and a soldier and a gentleman should not endure the affront of seeing all his letters returned to him. Put an end, then, to scenes but little worthy of the rank you occupy, or of my character. If you have any official or personal communications to make to me, make them in the terms which have been in established use for four years; do not make use of the intervention of your officers. With a stranger in the island, a French general officer, belonging, in his own country, to a distinguished family, it is against all rules of politeness not to communicate directly; and when these communications refer to the Emperor Napoleon, this incivility becomes a madness, which is in itself sufficient to characterize your administration in the eyes of Europe.

"I have the honour to be, Sir,

"Your most humble and obedient servant,

(Signed) "GENERAL COUNT MONTHOLON.

"P.S. I have laid aside, and still hold at your disposal, your letters of the 21st and 25th of March, with their seals unbroken, as well as the three letters written to me by your officers, regarding them as not having been delivered.

"The Emperor is still without a medical attendant;

a state of things which, under one pretext or another, has continued during a period of ten months. Mr. Ricketts, member of the general council of the Indies, and a relation of Lord Liverpool, to whom my letter of the 1st of April was communicated, could not comprehend your motives for preventing the medical man from being selected by the Emperor Napoleon, or from giving those guarantees which he requires, and which are such as every gentleman exacts, nor the reasons which induce you to refuse to consider this physician as fulfilling a civil function; this being necessary for his enjoyment of that independence which he needs, in order to fulfil this pious ministry, against which the present is the first public attempt that has ever been made since civilized nations have existed.

"You sent us, a month ago, a collection of the 'Morning Chronicle,' published during the last week of August, the months of September, October, November, and up to the 24th of December; but seven numbers are wanting.

"It appears that the 'Courier,' a semi-official newspaper, said that you intercepted, in the month of September, 1818, a correspondence addressed to us from Europe. Why not have communicated it to us? As we have no knowledge of this fact, I am charged to declare it false and calumnious.

"Newspapers published during the latter end of December, and the whole of January arrived a fortnight ago: you have sent us none of them.

"You have in your possession cases of books, a

collection of the 'Morning Chronicle,' and some 'Edinburgh Reviews' belonging to us; you have now kept them back for several months.

"You threaten us, both verbally and in writing: this is quite useless; you may spare yourself the trouble. You misunderstand our characters; nothing can ever make us deviate from the path of honour and duty.

"MONTHOLON."

On the 11th, Lieutenant-Colonel Wynyard wrote to me. From that day, up to the 18th of July, all correspondence relative to the Emperor, between the Governor and ourselves, ceased; but not so the entreaties and threats used in order to manage that the orderly officer should be admitted to make his daily visit.

It was one of these occasions which gave rise to a most violent scene, which was terminated by the following words escaping from the Grand Marshal, in his indignation—"Begone, sir, begone!—or——." Two hours afterwards, he wrote to Sir Hudson Lowe, declaring to him that he was ready to give him satisfaction for this insult, and desiring him to indicate the hour and place for a meeting. Sir Hudson Lowe replied that he could not fight with his prisoner, but that if Count Bertrand had not patience to await another opportunity, he might satisfy his rage by fighting with Lieutenant-Colonel Lyster, the bearer of this reply, who was perfectly ready to draw his sword.

Of course, Bertrand did not so far honour that officer, with whom he was not even acquainted.

General Bertrand having, on the 17th of July, expressed to the orderly officer his regret that Dr. Stokoe was not left at liberty by Sir H. Lowe to bleed the Emperor, that officer received, on the 18th, the following letter, which he communicated to us, and of which he gave us a copy, certified by himself.

"Sir,—In reply to the verbal communication made to you yesterday by Count Bertrand, I am charged by the Governor to inform you, that on conferring with Rear-Admiral Plampin, concerning the continuance of Dr. Stokoe's services at Longwood, the Admiral informed him that he could not spare Dr. Stokoe's services in the squadron, nor release this gentleman from the obedience which he owed to him as commander-in-chief of the naval station, without the authority of the Lords of the Admiralty.

"As regards the Governor, he desires to say that he has no objection to Dr. Stokoe's being summoned to a consultation at Longwood, but that he should wish Dr. Stokoe's visits only to take place in presence of the established medical attendant there, and by following as much as possible his instructions on this point.

"The unsigned paper which you addressed to me is herewith returned to you; you will give it back to Count Bertrand on these grounds,—that it contains mention of the title of 'Emperor,' that it has no

signature, and that the first part of the letter renders any deliberation on its contents useless.

"I have the honour to be,
&c. &c.,
"G. GORRIQUER.

"St. Helena, July 18, 1819.

"(A correct copy.)
"NICHOLLS,
"Captain in the 66th."

On the 11th of August, the Grand Marshal wrote as follows to Sir H. Lowe:—

"SIR,—Captain Nicholls having presented himself at my house, bearing a sealed letter, addressed to Napoleon Bonaparte, which he desired that I should convey to the Emperor, I replied to him, that he was confined to bed, and suffering a great deal; that he needed the assistance of a physician, instead of things which only tended to irritate him, and which he had declared that he considered as insults; and that besides, he knew that the Emperor had refused to agree to this mode of correspondence; and that during the four years which we have spent on this island there has been an established protocol, from which this derogates. Count Montholon protested against it, in his letter of the 11th of April: he there informs you, in plain terms, that to write in this manner is to write in Chinese or in Hebrew; and in fact, he returned to you all the letters which you addressed to him under this form. As you again sent them back to him, and

caused them to be delivered by the captain by force, he kept them, in order to withdraw himself from a vexatious contest; but, as you know, he took them to the Emperor, who threw them into the fire immediately on learning the insult you intended him. For several months past, the Emperor has heard not a word of all that you wished to have conveyed to him. If the captain presents your letter to me for the third time, I will receive it, but he has declared to me that it will have the same fate as the others. Is not the Emperor's situation deplorable enough? Why wish to aggravate it by raising difficulties which use had smoothed down? One of your officers applied to the Emperor's valet-de-chambre in order to be admitted to see him, but his health does not permit him to receive any one, except a physician, either Mr. O'Meara, Dr. Stokoe, or any other physician whom he may choose, under the same conditions as those accepted by Dr. Stokoe; without his acceptance of which, the Emperor could only consider him as a police agent, and not as an officer of health.

"Count Montholon being seriously ill, if you wish to make any communications to me, following the ordinary custom, I will take advantage of some moment when the Emperor's health will allow of it, to communicate them to him.

"When his disease affords him some respite, he is to be seen; when he is confined to bed, the most expedient means of causing him to be seen is that proposed by your government,—to allow him to choose a

physician who should have no other charge but his medical duties, as he has chosen Dr. Stokoe.

"I have the honour to be,
&c. &c. &c.,
(Signed) COUNT BERTRAND."

These disputes were incessant. This letter having been returned, the Emperor caused it to be sent back to Plantation House, in this postscript:—

"I will take no notice of the contents of this letter, any more than I have done of those of the two or three other similar ones which have been forcibly brought to Count Montholon's apartments, in spite of all written protests:—firstly, because I can have no direct correspondence; secondly, because the form of these letters is insulting; thirdly, because all means of replying are taken from us; fourthly, because for the last four years there has existed a rule from which I cannot depart.

"For a period of two years I have been afflicted with a chronic disease of the liver, endemic in this country. For the last year I have had no physician, because O'Meara and Stokoe have both been designedly removed from St. Helena; for some days past I have been in a crisis—abandoned, and without receiving any relief from medical skill. Yet, as if this disease were not sufficiently hurtful in this climate and in the unhealthy situation of my residence, this moment is taken for redoubling the mean proceedings, the insults, the outrages, the insinuations, perfidies, and

threats, in short, all modes of violence. What! Peace has reigned in Europe during four years, and the vengeance of England is not yet satisfied! What baseness!"

On the 16th, the Emperor signed a declaration, which the Grand Marshal transmitted to Captain Nicholls.

From this day until the 29th of August, Sir H. Lowe left us in peace, and the Emperor resumed his habits of work; but on the 29th, Sir Hudson Lowe came to declare to me, that he had now given orders to the orderly officer to present himself every day at the Emperor's door, and to arrest, for the purpose of being immediately sent on board ship, any one whatever who should oppose his performance of his duty. The same day I received from Sir Thomas Reade the following note and memorandum:—

"The undersigned, Lieutenant-General and Governor of the Island of St. Helena, has the honour to inform Napoleon Bonaparte, that having received various reports from the orderly officer at Longwood, stating his continued inability to obtain a daily view of the person of Napoleon Bonaparte; and Napoleon Bonaparte, although said to be indisposed, having refused to receive the visits of Dr. Arnott, principal physician of the island of St. Helena; or of Dr. Weeling, established medical attendant at Longwood; or of any other English officer of health, who, in conformity with the regulation established by Lord

Bathurst's instructions of the 30th of November, 1818, might give, every morning and evening, an assurance that he is indisposed, and actually at Longwood; the undersigned finds himself under the painful but inevitable necessity of informing Napoleon Bonaparte, that, conformably to the instructions contained in Lord Bathurst's letter of the 6th of October, 1818, he has granted to the orderly officer permission to use such means as he may judge necessary to employ, in order to remove any obstacle which may be opposed to his obtaining daily access to a place where Napoleon Bonaparte may be seen.

"The orderly officer has also been authorized, in case of any opposition which may be made to him, or of any resistance or attempt at resistance shown to him on the part of any of the persons forming the suite of Napoleon Bonaparte, in the execution of the duties above mentioned, to remove immediately from Longwood the person or persons making this opposition or offering resistance, and such person or persons will immediately bear the blame, and will be held responsible for all the consequences which may result from his or their actions.

"The undersigned having, moreover, observed, from the reports of the orderly officer, that notwithstanding the respectful and delicate manner in which he was enjoined to fulfil his duties, by the instructions addressed to him on the 11th of August, 1819, of which he sent a copy, as well as some other pieces, to Napoleon Bonaparte on the 11th and 23rd of August, 1819,

he had found that the doors of Napoleon Bonaparte's residence were closed against him, and had experienced, constantly, renewed difficulty in obtaining communication with the persons of Napoleon Bonaparte's suite, and causing him to be informed of his desire to be admitted; he has instructed the orderly officer, should he not on any day have seen Napoleon Bonaparte before ten o'clock in the morning, to enter the hall or outer apartment of his residence, and proceed to the part of the house where he is likely to find the suite; and should he find no one who will carry a message to Napoleon Bonaparte, informing him of his desire to be admitted to his apartment, to act as he may judge fit, in order to procure for himself means of admission, following in this matter, as far as possible, the regulations established in the instructions transmitted to him on the 11th of August, 1819, and not having recourse to any means of force, unless he finds that he cannot otherwise succeed in being admitted.

(Signed) " H. LOWE,

" Lieutenant-General.

" Castle of James Town, August 29, 1819."

" Memorandum for the information of the persons belonging to the suite of, or residing with Napoleon Bonaparte at Longwood.

" The orderly officer at Longwood having reported to the Governor the absolute impossibility which he

has experienced for several days past, of obtaining a distinct view of the person of Napoleon Bonaparte; seeing, moreover, that no answer has yet been returned to the proposals communicated to Napoleon Bonaparte on the 21st of the month of March, 1819, with regard to admitting the orderly officer to his presence, the Governor finds himself reduced to the indispensable necessity, in consequence of the instructions which he has received to this effect from the British government, of enjoining the orderly officer to take the proper and necessary measures for enabling himself to be daily assured, by personal observation, of the actual presence of Napoleon Bonaparte at Longwood.

" The Governor ordains at the same time that a declaration should be made to the officers and other persons in the suite of, or residing with General Bonaparte, and such declaration is consequently hereby made to all these persons, that if any opposition is made, or even attempted, to the execution of a measure fully justified in the case of a prisoner of war, in all circumstances—and to what extent in the present case has been recognised, since Napoleon Bonaparte refuses to admit the orderly officer to his presence, or, if he is indisposed, to receive any English medical man, who would give an assurance, morning and evening, that he is indisposed, and actually at Longwood—those persons making this opposition will expose themselves to all the risk and danger which

may follow, as well as to all other consequences which would result from such an act.

"By order of his Excellency the Governor,

(Signed) "READE,

"Lieutenant-Colonel, *pro tem.*

"St. Helena, August 29, 1819."

On the 31st, I received orders from the Emperor to deliver the following declaration to the orderly officer, in case he should insist upon seeing him; and I gave it to him when he presented himself for the purpose of making his visit.

"You came three times the day before yesterday here, within two hours, and yesterday three times, without my being able to understand your aim. You wish to violate, as it seems, the privacy of the Emperor's apartments, which have until now been respected, and which are under the protection of the law of nations, and of the strict decrees of your government. I replied to you, that none but the Prince Regent, or the Privy Council, could make legal restrictions; that the Prince Regent and the Privy Council have been aware, these four years, that the Emperor's choice between an ignominious treatment and death is by no means doubtful; they have decreed nothing, at least nothing which has been communicated to us, which changes the state of things and the customs established during the last four years. Alone, ill, debarred from all communication with the universe, or even with the English officers

and inhabitants on this rock, he presents his throat to the poniards of his murderers; they need seek for no pretext.

"I requested you to communicate to me the decrees made by the Prince Regent, or emanating from the Privy Council, or even the instructions, in virtue of which you have been acting since the 11th of this month. You have, however, sent me no communication on the subject.

"I have already told you that the Emperor acknowledged no orderly officer. You have never spoken to him; he has never seen you—neither you, nor the officers who have preceded you in your post during the last four years.

"The declaration of the 16th of August replies to everything; I subjoin it again. Since that time, the condition of the Emperor's health has become rather worse than better; he has more need than ever of the assistance of his physician, whom he claims.

"All the steps which have been taken with regard to the domestics are unworthy; and they are futile, because they are repulsed by our manners and our customs.

"I reiterate what I told you a fortnight ago, that the Emperor would prefer the refuge of a tomb to suffering ignominious treatment; that he can acknowledge no restrictions, even drawn up in the terms of your law, if they do not emanate either from the Prince Regent or from the Privy Council. He has sacrificed everything, abandoned everything, and re-

duced himself to the most miserable life, in order to satisfy the hatred of his enemies. If their vengeance is not yet disarmed, let them strike him down at a single blow; it will be a benefit, since it will put a termination to the agony which has lasted since the 11th of August, and in which pleasure seems to be taken in holding him under the knife."

On the 4th of September, Sir H. Lowe came to me and said, that he had not executed his instructions, and had still left me with the Emperor, in order to give him a last testimony of respect, knowing how necessary my services were to him; but that I had incurred, by my verbal as well as by my written answers, the punishment of being sent to the Cape of Good Hope, there to await the ulterior orders of his Government; that I should therefore keep this in mind. The discussion between us was warm, but devoid of injurious expressions; and the Governor finished by telling me, that he would leave us in peace if I would give him my word of honour that the Emperor was at Longwood. I did so;—and this state of things was still in continuance on the 21st of September, when the priests and Dr. Antommarchi arrived.

A conversation with the Russian commissary determined the Emperor to dictate the following note to me.

"Montholon will say to Count Balmain:—1st. that the occupation of the Duchy of Oldenburg was

not done by my orders, that it was an idea of Prince Eckmuhl's, who was by nature a man of policy and vigour, and who, knowing that Oldenburg was the depôt of English merchandise, and the place from whence it overflowed the whole of Germany, notwithstanding its duties and its 80,000 soldiers, thought to please me by forcing me to this conduct, because, not wishing to encourage demoralization, I had replied to him, that I would consent to the occupation of the coast of Oldenburg if it were proved to me that this measure was indispensable; although I was averse to it, because the Grand-Duchess was of the imperial blood of Russia. Davoust, who persuaded himself that the crown of Poland would one day be his recompence, because I had given him an income of 200,000 francs in Poland, thought that he should both serve his ambition and please me, by taking upon himself to close the inlet of Oldenburg to English merchandise. I greatly disapproved of his plan; and was about to order him to evacuate that country, when I was stopped in my purpose by the menacing tone of the note despatched to me on this occasion by the cabinet of St. Petersburg.

"Romanzoff was dominant in the Emperor's councils; he said, in a high tone, that, for me no sacrifice would be too great to preserve peace; that the affairs of Spain made this a necessity to me: he demanded Dantzic from me as a Russian port, or as a town open to Russian commerce, as an indemnity for the occupation of the coast of Oldenburg. This note showed an

evident wish on the part of the Russian cabinet to interrupt all relations of good understanding. The moment the honour of France became implicated, I could no longer disapprove of Marshal Davoust's proceedings, although I was very unwilling to approve them.

"If the intervention of Russia had been that of a friendly cabinet, I would have given her complete satisfaction. Of what consequence was it, after all, to me, that some English merchandise should enter by Oldenburg, when it was so easy for me to seize it on its leaving that small province? and then, did I not myself bring English merchandise into France by means of licences?

"As regards the second question, Montholon will reply:

"That I proved to the Emperor Alexander my repugnance to make war against him, and the sincerity of the fraternal faith which we had sworn to each other at Erfurt, when I sent my aide-de-camp Narbonne to him, again to offer him a friendly hand, and to propose an interview which should re-establish harmony between us: it was not my fault if he would neither receive Lauriston nor Narbonne.

"It is true, that after having passed the Niemen at the head of 400,000 men, I said, 'It is too late; the glove has been thrown down and taken up.' But from the moment when I received and listened to the Emperor's messenger, peace was still possible, and it would have been re-established without a drop of blood being spilled, if the Emperor Alexander had frankly

wished it, or rather if he could have wished it in opposition to the will of his *Boyards*, who desired war at any price, because they were ruined by the continental system, and were determined, cost what it might, to sell their tallow, hemp, and copper, to England.

"To sum up, I made war against Russia in spite of myself. I knew, better than the libellers who reproach me with it, that Spain was a devouring cancer, which I ought to cure before engaging myself in a terrible struggle, the first blow of which would be struck at a distance of five hundred leagues from my frontiers. Poland and its resources were but poetry in the first months of the year 1812. The Emperor Alexander knows this quite as well as I do.

"Doubtless, I reckoned on the good faith of the Emperor of Austria. Family ties have always seemed sacred to me, and even yet I cannot bring myself to believe that they may be broken without dishonour, and without being wanting to what is most sacred to man; but I only reckoned upon Prussia in so far as I should be victorious; and certainly I was not so mad as to think, like Charles XII., that I could conquer Russia without immense efforts. I knew the bravery of the Russian army: the war of 1807 had proved it to me; and moreover, there was nothing to be hoped for from the influence of French ideas on this half-civilized population. I could not forget that when I spoke of liberty to the Polish serfs, they replied: 'Yes, we are very willing to have it, but who will feed, lodge, and clothe us?' I love the Polish soldier,

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but I love France above everything else; and I should not have made war against Russia solely for the purpose of forwarding the interests of the Polish nobility, and of making a Poniatowski king of Poland. Poland is the necessary and natural barrier of central Europe against Russia. The re-establishment of the kingdom of Poland, with Galicia and the coast of the Baltic—this was to be, in my thoughts, the work of my diplomacy. The Emperor must remember that this was the subject of our conversations at Erfurt, and that he then offered to exchange his Polish provinces for Constantinople. Under this arrangement, Syria and Egypt would have supplied to France the loss of her colonies. Constantinople, which in the year 1811 was an enormous difficulty, is now scarcely to be called one.

" I should have been mad, if I had made the war of 1812 for the purpose of effecting a thing which I could have effected by means of amicable negotiations.

" I repeat that I did not wish for war, and think I have proved this.

" Answer to the third question:

" I frankly desired to marry the Grand-Duchess. If Count Balmain speaks truth, both the Emperor Alexander's feelings and mine were unworthily deceived in this affair. It is true that I consulted my privy council, but this only took place in order to save the appearance of the ill-will of Russia, which was already becoming the object of conversation in the

diplomatic *salons* of Paris, and not until I had nearly lost all hope of this marriage, which my friendship for the Emperor Alexander and my policy equally advised, and which I greatly desired.

"In conclusion, if the Emperor Alexander freely acknowledges that the reign of the Bourbons is a forced state of affairs, and that my dynasty is the true guarantee of the royal interest, as well as of that of the people, I will gratefully accept the hospitality which he offers me, and his intervention for the purpose of putting an end to the martyrdom which I am enduring on this rock."

This communication suggested to the Emperor a desire to collect his different dictations on the negotiations of his reign. He wished to compile a work from them, which should be entitled "Policy of Napoleon, as General, as First Consul, and as Emperor." The first book comprehends his negotiations as General; it is entirely completed. The second was intended to contain his negotiations as Head of the Government; it is but sketched out, and is divided into two chapters: the first, the period of ascendant; the second, of reverse.

CHAPTER IV.

RECOLLECTIONS.

THE latter part of the year 1819 was calm; no events of importance broke in on the monotony of our position. It was a great consolation to us to see that the Emperor's health derived benefit from the little exercise of working in a small garden which he had made near his windows. Besides, as the orderly officer had several opportunities daily of seeing the Emperor, the fantastic terrors of Sir H. Lowe were calmed, and we never heard him spoken of, except with reference to his correspondence with Dr. Antommarchi, who had several quarrels with the sentinels on account of his persisting in re-entering the enclosure at Longwood at night, after the placing of the sentinels at sunset.

On the 31st of December I received from Sir H. Lowe the following letter and memorandum, relative

to the change in the limits of the enclosure destined for our rides, and to the hour at which the night-sentinels were placed on guard.

"Plantation House, December 31st, 1819.

"SIR,—Although I have not been honoured with a reply to the proposals communicated in my note of the 25th of March last, yet with the aim of persuading *him* to take exercise on horseback, and of consulting the convenience of the persons belonging to *his* suite at Longwood, I have taken upon myself, in the hope of its being approved by my government, to make such additions to the circuit already granted for the purpose of rides or other exercise without being accompanied by an English officer, and without being exposed to the intervention of any military posts, as are explained in the annexed memorandum, which I beg you to be so kind as to deliver, and make known to the suite.

"I beg you, sir, to transmit at the same time an assurance that now, as ever, I am ready to give effect to the proposals communicated in my note of the 21st of March last, the moment I am informed that they are agreed to.

"I have the honour to be,

&c. &c. &c.

"Your most humble and obedient Servant,

"H. LOWE.

"To Lieutenant-General Count Montholon."

MEMORANDUM.

" The limits to the west of the alarm-post and of Hut's Gate will be for the future established during the daytime as follows:—

" From the alarm-post, by the road which traverses Peak Hill and Francis Plain, as far as Red Hill; from thence by Merriman's Hill, and the field of the church to Baker's Branch,—the hills of Sandy Bay, and the return by the road which crosses Hilch's Ridge to Hut's Gate.

" The limits will be closed in the evening, at the same hour as hitherto. In case any one may accidentally happen not to have returned before the hour at which the sentinels are placed, the entry to Longwood will be free on the side of the house and by the lodge, so that a person may pass without being stopped, as long as there are any remains of daylight.

" H. LOWE,

" Lieutenant-General and Governor.

" St. Helena, December 31st, 1819."

The 1st of January, 1820, was a happy day. The Emperor received my good wishes with an appearance of pleasure. His manner towards us all was one of paternal kindness, and he assured us that it was long since he had felt himself so well. The enlargement of the limits made him again wish to mount his horse, and Sir H. Lowe having, contrary to his usual custom, replied favourably to some undecided questions concerning some points of the new limits, the Emperor

took long rides; among others, one to the house of Sir William Doveton, on the other side of the island, where he breakfasted.

Exercise on horseback was highly beneficial to the Emperor. With health returned his recollections, his anecdotes, and that same night he dictated to me, for the purpose of having them sent to London, the following notes on Marshal Ney and Count Lavalette.

"Marshal Ney was perfectly loyal when he received his last orders from the king, before setting out for his command; but his fiery soul, which made him *le brave des braves*, as for instance, when, with a handful of men, he arrested the progress of a Russian army, which was pursuing the scattered wrecks of our army even as far as the Niemen, could not fail to be deeply impressed by the intoxicating enthusiasm of the population of Dauphiné, of Lorraine, and of Burgundy, which was daily depriving him of some of his best troops, for the national colours were being hoisted on all sides, and waved before his eyes.

"Yet notwithstanding this, Ney, on the 13th of March, and when the Emperor was already at Lyons, still resisted the impressions of his recollections, and of the national movement which was bringing back the Emperor to Paris, expelling ignominiously before him the King of the Emigrés.

"It was not until he received the following letter from the Emperor that he yielded, and again placed himself under the banner of the empire.

"'COUSIN,—My major-general sends you the order of march; I do not doubt that the moment you heard of my arrival at Lyons, you again raised the tricolor standards among your troops. Execute the orders of Bertrand, and come and join me at Chalons. I will receive you as I did the morning after the battle of Moscow.'

"The electric emotion was too strong for an organization like that of Marshal Ney. There was neither reasoning nor calculation in his conduct; there was only the impossibility of resisting the national impulse of the people and the army.

"The conduct of Marshal Ney has been compared to that of Marshal Turenne. Turenne acted from calculation, and moved by the ambition of ruling the councils of the regency, when, forgetting his oath to Anne of Austria, and declaring himself in favour of the opposite party, he marched upon Paris. Ney did nothing similar to this. A child of the revolution, he had risen through all his grades while fighting for it, during a period of twenty-five years. The confidence of the king was an accident in his career. The nation recalled him to their ranks; he obeyed the influence of all the recollections of his life and of his own glory; he did what all France did—again became a man of the revolution; in short, he obeyed the national impulse, to which Louis XVIII. himself yielded six days afterwards. The condemnation of Marshal Ney was a judicial assassination. Even had he been guilty, all the great services which he had rendered to his

country, ought to have protected him, and arrested the hand of justice.

"France owes Marshal Ney a brilliant testimony of her sorrow and her gratitude. He saved, by his unequalled energy, 60,000 Frenchmen who, had it not been for him, would never have recrossed the Niemen. Sooner or later the nation will raise statues to him."

"The condemnation to death of Count Lavalette was not a sentence, but an act of criminal re-action. Lavalette only learned my resolution to quit the Isle of Elba at the same time that he heard of my landing at Cannes. It was Marshal Davoust and the Duke of Bassano who sent the auditor Fleury de Chaboulon to me to inform me, as well by their written report as by the verbal one of this auditor, of the state of public opinion in France, and also of their personal opinion concerning the chances afforded me by the faults of the princes and their adherents—a combination quite unfavourable to my return, and which shortly after put in movement, in the direction of Paris, several regiments of the military divisions of the north and east.

"Lavalette knew nothing of all this; and although his sentiments towards me were those of devoted friendship, he mixed in no intrigue: every one who has known him will render him this justice. Honour, probity, and integrity in all things formed the basis of his character. Intrigue was repugnant to him; it was not even among his faculties; and he would have

made one of the most unskilful conspirators, if his evil star had engaged him in any plot whatever. Lavalette, as my aide-de-camp in Italy and in Egypt, fulfilled very important and very delicate missions, and always to my satisfaction—especially when I sent him to Paris, about the time of the 18th of Fructidor, to study public opinion, and to send me regular information of the intrigues which were preparing on that day.

"These are the circumstances which procured him the confidential situation of postmaster-general, when I was obliged to remove from it Monsieur Laforet, who had lent himself to an intrigue, by submitting to me false letters, which he pretended had been intercepted by the secret police, and which represented the château of Monsieur de la Rochefoucault as a central point of various schemes against my government.

"Accident discovered the truth to me, while I was conversing with Madame de Montmorency in Josephine's boudoir.

"One of this lady's near relations was, according to these letters, the most active agent of a plot, and had just arrived from England. All this was a perfect romance: this individual had never quitted England, but was quietly awaiting there the result of the steps which he had commissioned Madame de Montmorency to take, in order to induce me to cross out his name from the list, and permit him to come and die among his own people. This petition was the aim of Madame de Montmorency's visit, and of her con-

versation with me. I granted her request; and on leaving her sent for Monsieur Laforet. He agreed that all she had said was true, and sought to excuse himself, on his conviction, by saying that he had been drawn into error by his devotion to my person. It was Talleyrand, the one among my ministers who perhaps stood the highest in my confidence, who had given Laforet these letters, to be placed among those intercepted for reasons of public security.

"These circumstances proved to me that the first qualities of a postmaster-general should be the severest morality and probity. The remembrance of Lavalette recurred to my mind; I immediately appointed him to the situation. He fulfilled the duties of this office during my reign, without ever making bad use of or betraying a family secret. The black cabinet was an institution of the monarchy; the republic had retained it; many people considered it a necessity. I did not abolish it, but I never acknowledged its absolute necessity. In one case only did the violation of the secrecy of letters put me on the track of a political intrigue. Important revelations generally came to me either through confession, or sometimes through the police—often, too, through persons who had the *entrée* to my levées, and whom their social position placed in daily intercourse with the secret partisans of the house of Bourbon. As I attached great value to a knowledge of public opinion, (for it is the thermometer which a sovereign should constantly consult,) I commissioned Lavalette to perform the part of inter-

mediary between myself and about a dozen persons, chosen from among the most distinguished individuals of the most opposite parties: the most enthusiastic republicans, the Girondins, the constitutionalists, the *emigrés*, and even men of Condé's army; persons of note among the royalists, and celebrated women—Mesdames de G——, de S——, de B——. Messieurs de G——, de L——, and de C——, had also accepted the charge of writing to me or to Duroc at least once a month, making their remarks on the progress of public opinion, and of the effect produced on it by the acts of my government. Each of these mysterious observers received a thousand francs from Lavalette, in exchange for the letter which he brought or sent to him to be transmitted to me.

"Lavalette religiously kept the secret of their names, and there is a rare merit in this conduct, for two of them are among the number of those movers of the re-action who demanded his head."

A shelter from the disagreeable trade-winds, and a little shade from the sun, were two things the want of which, in our small degree of comfort at Longwood, was incessantly felt. The Emperor took up the idea of erecting both one and the other in the small gardens, and he was the first to set to work, giving us all the example of labour.

It was a picture worthy of being represented by the most celebrated artists, to see the conqueror of so many

kingdoms, him who had dictated laws to so many sovereigns, at dawn of day, with his spade in his hand, a broad straw hat on his head, and his feet clad in red morocco slippers, directing our labours, and those, assuredly more useful, of the Chinese gardeners of the establishment. In a few days he succeeded in this manner in raising two circular walls of tufts of bad grass, about eleven or twelve feet high, on a diameter of twenty yards, on a line with his bed room and the library. Sir H. Lowe saw nothing at first in this but a shelter against the trade-winds, and did not oppose our proceedings; but when he learned that the palings of the garden in front of the library had been taken down, and removed within a few hours to a distance of twenty feet beyond the grass wall, and thus put the round of the night sentinels twenty yards further off, he came to me and informed me that he must forbid our doing the same thing with regard to the palings of the other garden, this removal of the sentinels not being consistent, he said, with safety during the night; adding, that he was giving a high testimony of respect in not causing the palings, which we had already removed, to be put back in their former places.

The walls being finished, the Emperor had twenty-four large trees purchased, and caused them to be planted with two yards square of earth round their roots. The artillery company undertook the charge of transporting them to Longwood, with the help of several hundred Chinese.

The Emperor himself directed the planting of them in two rows, like an avenue in front of the library windows. Of the twenty-four trees thus transplanted, but one was dead when we quitted St. Helena.

In this manner he created for himself a possibility of taking air and a little exercise at any hour of the day or night without being annoyed by the sun, or by the presence of his gaolers. The library garden was shut in to the height of the steps of the topographic cabinet, or billiard cabinet as it was called, by a semicircular construction of tufts of grass made in steps, each range of steps being planted with rose-trees. In this construction was a space six feet wide, which, being made with a double row in the centre, formed a cabinet with grassy seats. A wooden trench, on a level with the ground, crossed it, and carried off the superfluous water of a kind of basin with a jet-d'eau, formed in the centre of this garden by an enormous tub, twelve feet in diameter and three deep, to which the water was brought by means of leaden pipes communicating with those which supplied Longwood.

All these works cost the Emperor a great deal of money, but they amused him and contributed to prolong his melancholy existence.

The month of March sadly recalled to his thoughts days of storm and misfortune; these recollections became the subject of his conversation, and of the following dictations:—

"I had at once accepted the consequences of the additional act; I had recognised the necessities of the new situation in which I found myself on being replaced on the throne. I proved this when I said to Benjamin Constant:

"'The nation has been at rest for a period of twelve years from any political agitation, and has now for a year been free from that of war; this double repose has caused her again to feel the need of activity. She wishes, or thinks she wishes, for liberty, a tribune, assemblies: she did not always desire these; she was weary of them when she threw herself at my feet, in order to raise me upon the shield. You should remember this; you who endeavoured to oppose my accession to the throne. Where was your support, your strength? You had none. I took less authority than I was invited to do. Remember the time when I said in the Council of State: "You think, perhaps, that I desire power? I have more of it than I need. Who resists me now in France, or even in Europe? But I wish to lay a foundation of society. Look around you—what do you see? On one hand, Vendeans who seem entirely under the guidance of the *emigrés*, whom I recalled; priests to whom I have restored their altars, but who, in their hearts, while receiving all the benefits I bestow on them, detest me; on the other, revolutionists divided *ad infinitum*, betraying and accusing one another; and in addition to all this, a liberated nation, which no longer knows to whom to listen or on whom to rely; which demands

repose, and wishes no longer to think of anything for itself. And you look upon this as a good state of society? It is with the young that I will form a true society, animated by the healthy ideas of the age, and by the sentiments of real patriotism, and which, having no false ideas of the past, or of the hatred of the present, will be worthy to succeed us, and will be able to realize the true ideas of those who made the revolution. The constitution of the year XIII. and the civil code are my works. The Bourbons wished to stifle my glory beneath the restraint of liberty; they re-awakened, by the weakness of their administration, and also by the false pretensions of those who surrounded them, some of the passions of 1789. The taste for constitutions and harangues seems to be returning; but do not deceive yourselves; it is neither the wish of the people, nor is it what they require. The mass of the people want but one thing, to deliver them from the Bourbons, and from the feudal consequences of their reign; and this thing is—myself." And did you not see this whole people pressing round my steps, calling me, seeking me, saluting me with their acclamations from Cannes to the Tuileries? I am not the Emperor of the soldiers alone, as the gentlemen liberals are pleased to say; I am the Emperor of the peasants, of the plebeians, of France. Therefore it is that, notwithstanding the striking recollections of my reverses, you have seen the nation return to me *en masse*; it is because there exists sympathy between us. This

was not the case with the *privilégiés;* the old nobility served me; they passed in crowds into my ante-chambers. There were no places which they did not accept, request, solicit. I have had in my service Montmorencys, Brancases, Noailles, Beauveans, Béarns, Montemarts; but there was never analogy in this. The horse made curvets; he was well trained; but I felt him quiver. With the people the matter is different; the popular fibre is the best; I rose from the ranks of the people, and my voice influences them. Look at those recruits, those sons of peasants; I did not flatter them; I treated them severely; they did not the less surround me; they did not the less cry, 'Vive l'Empereur!' This is because we are of a common nature; they look upon me as their support, their protector against their former lords. I have but to make a signal, or merely to turn away my eyes, and the nobles will be massacred throughout every province; during the last six months they have re-awakened so many feelings of hatred! But I have no wish to be the King of a *Jacquerie.* I believe that it is possible to govern by a constitution; I wished to obtain for France the sceptre of the whole world; and in order to secure it to her, absolute power was necessary to me; for the purpose of governing France, if restrained within its actual, or even natural limits, it may be that a constitutional order of government would be better. Tell me your ideas. Free elections? public discussions? responsible ministers? liberty? I desire all this; liberty of the press, above all. To suppress

this would be absurd in the present day. In short, I am the man of the people; and if the people really desire liberty, I owe it them; I have recognised their sovereignty, it is therefore my duty to obey their will, and even to listen to their caprices. I never wished to oppress them, or to exhaust their resources, in order to forward my personal interests; I had great designs for France; fate has otherwise decided; I am no longer a conqueror; I can no longer be one; I know what is possible, and what is not so. I can now only have one mission; again to raise up France, to give her a government fitting for her. I removed liberty out of my way, when it encumbered my path; but I understood it; I loved it; it was the dream of my youth. The work of my fifteen years' reign is also destroyed; it cannot be re-commenced; for this purpose, twenty years and two millions of men to be sacrificed would be necessary; and besides, I desire peace. But I will not give you false hopes; I shall only obtain it by means of victories. I give out that there are negotiations going forward; there are none of any value, or at least they will come to nothing, if my first battle does not recal Austerlitz or Marengo; and to effect this, I should require four months, or perhaps even five, in order to re-organize the army, and increase it to 500,000 men. I foresee, therefore, a difficult struggle, a long war; in order to sustain it, the people must support me; but in return, they shall have liberty. The situation is novel; I ask nothing better than to

be enlightened on the subject. I am growing old; at forty-five a man is no longer what he was at thirty. The repose of a constitutional king suits me, and will assuredly suit my son.'

"The return from the Isle of Elba and the maintenance of the Napoleon dynasty on the throne, definitively judged the cause of kings and of the people; they both gained; at present everything is again fallen into doubt. They may both lose. A spark would suffice to re-kindle a universal conflagration.

"I had closed the gulf of anarchy, separated the chaos, freed the revolution from stain, ennobled nations and established kings more firmly; excited emulation, recompensed merit, and widened the lists in which glory was to be obtained. If I restrained the liberty of political pamphlets, it was because licence, anarchy, and all the calamities of disorder were still at the threshold. I wished that the title of Frenchman should be the best and most desirable on earth, and that the French nation should be justly entitled 'the great nation,' giving to the world an example of the empire of reason, of the full exercise and perfect enjoyment of all human faculties. The progress of knowledge during my reign was gigantic; ideas became corrected and extended, because my government laboured without ceasing to render science popular, and because all Frenchmen of the present day know how to think.

"The situation into which France was brought in the year 1815 is unexampled in history; on one side,

the Sovereign, a few millions of subjects attached by their personal interest to the wrecks of a superannuated order of things, and renegades of all parties, unceasingly talking of their devotion to the throne; on the other, Chambers without energy, without prudence, wasting the resources of the nation, using towards the people in their addresses language without dignity, abject adulation, which degrades a great people; and their only support the stranger. For how could reliance be placed on the army? A soldier can only combat the tedium and ennui of a barrack life by talking of the dangers he has run, repeating accounts of battles which he has heard related at the paternal hearth; and how can a Frenchman speak of war without pronouncing the name of Napoleon, and filling all warlike imaginations with recollections of his glory? What can be the result of all this, if not the division of the nation into two people on one soil, vindictive and irreconcileable, and who, in the blindness of their intestine divisions, will debase their country to the lowest rank among nations, and will give foreign nations an opportunity of at last gratifying to the full their malice against French greatness; unless, one day, all the generations of Frenchmen, freed by the revolution, or born of the revolution and impregnated by its principles, seek their safety in one of those terrible convulsions which shake thrones.

"I had, I repeat, enclosed in a leathern bottle the wind of political storms; the bayonets of the English pierced it at Waterloo. I alone could proceed unat-

tacked by storms to universal regeneration; it is no longer possible, unless by the aid of fearful tempests.

"What will be the result of the proceedings of the Holy Alliance? Europe will sooner or later form but two camps; kings and their followers on one side; nations and their interests on the other. It will no longer be divided by nationality into kingdoms, but will be divided by colour, by opinion. Who would venture to predict the crisis, the effects of so many storms now piled heap upon heap on the European horizon? As to the issue, it is indubitable; for enlightenment never retrogrades but to advance more successfully. Nations and kings will regret me, and if ever my son is restored to the French, he may say to them: 'My father's thoughts were of you, on his rock in the midst of the Atlantic; I submit to your sanction the constitution which he has left as a legacy to me, with his advice, for the grandeur and prosperity of our beloved country.'"

These occupations were interrupted by the arrival of the store-ship, the "London," which brought us some cases of books, sent through Salomon, as that merchant caused me to be informed; this, however, Sir H. Lowe, to whom I wrote to claim them, denied. "Which of the two tells the falsehood?" said the Emperor to me. The steps necessary for discovering the truth occupied him for two or three days, and we then learned that, in point of fact, they had both

spoken the truth. Two cases of books had reached Salomon's hands, addressed to an imaginary passenger, and to be delivered to him on his touching at St. Helena; this was a false address agreed upon between Salomon and Dr. O'Meara. The books were, therefore, certainly intended for us; but the government, having received intelligence of the false addresses left by O'Meara, had the cases seized at the custom-house, under a legal pretext, and kept all the books, with the exception of a score of pamphlets of little interest.

A walk taken by the Emperor in the direction of Sandy Bay gave him an opportunity of catching a glimpse of Lady Lowe; he thought her very pretty, and could not forbear expressing his regret at not being acquainted with her. A few days afterwards, Miss Susanna Johnson, the young and pretty daughter of Lady Lowe, ventured to come alone to Longwood, and begged me to show her the gardens newly created, as if by magic, by the manual labour of the Emperor. I had that moment left his apartment, when I saw Miss Johnson passing the barriers of our enclosure on horseback, and followed only by a groom. When this young girl suddenly arrived, therefore, and springing lightly to the ground explained her desire, asking me whether it were not possible to satisfy it, I, believing I might be certain of not meeting the Emperor in the garden, yielded to her wishes, and offering her my arm, conducted her to the private gardens. We had scarcely gone a hundred paces, however,

before, on making a turn in the covered walk, we found ourselves face to face with the Emperor, who, seated on a bench, appeared to be watching us. My surprise was great, but less so, I think, than the impression made on Miss Johnson. Her pretty face was lighted up with indescribable animation, and her looks expressed at once her timid embarrassment, and her joy at seeing the Emperor. His manner towards her was amiable and kind; he had a plate of sweetmeats brought to her, appeared to take pleasure in showing her his gardening labours, said not a word which might remind her that she came from Plantation House, and as she was taking her departure, plucked a rose, and offered it to her as a *souvenir* of what he termed *her pilgrimage.* For several days the Emperor had been very unwell, and did not work; he scarcely quitted his sofa; he complained constantly of his stab of a penknife. Antommarchi laughed when I asked him to explain to me the cause of this internal pain, resembling the feeling of an incision made by a penknife at about two inches below the left breast, and this without any painful sensation outwardly.

When I entered the Emperor's apartment after the Grand Marshal had quitted it, the Emperor commanded me to go immediately to the town, for the purpose of conveying a message of condolence to the Marquis Montchenu, on the assassination of the Duc de Berry. I could not persuade myself that I heard aright; my attitude probably expressed this, for the Emperor said to me: "You are astonished! Ber-

trand was not less so; I told him my intention; you can say nothing to me which he has not already urged in order to make me alter my resolution; so mount immediately, and act as you would have done when I reigned."

I obeyed. The Marquis Montchenu received my message with demonstrations of the most profound emotion, and assured me that he would transmit it to the King his master, and would take the earliest opportunity of visiting Longwood, for the purpose of expressing the sentiments by which he was penetrated. He came next day, but was not received by the Emperor.

The erection of the new house was proceeding rapidly; Sir H. Lowe came almost daily to urge on the workmen by his presence; it seemed as if it would be really a comfortable habitation. I met Sir H. Lowe at the outward part of our enclosure, and he informed me that Admiral Plampin had quitted the station and had been replaced by Admiral Lambert.

Anniversaries always brought back the Emperor's thoughts to the events which they recalled. The 18th of June brought recollections of Waterloo. He looked over what he had dictated to General Gourgaud, and passed a week in drawing up anew the narrative of that short but so decisive campaign. Information acquired since his first dictation had modified his opinions on some important facts—viz., the inaction of the 1st corps during the day of Ligny, and the weakness of the attack at Quartre Bras; he

now saw that he had been too severe in his censure. He also wished to record the heroic death of General Michel, which fully supported the reputation of the old guard which he commanded: "*La garde meurt, et ne se rend pas,*" was the sublime reply which the first reports had attributed to the brave General Cambronne, but which General Bertrand, who was within hearing of it, affirmed to have been made by General Michel.

On the 25th, having finished his labours, he said, "Let us think no more about it; take away all these papers, and order my horses; a ride will do me good." He then made the circuit at full speed of the space allowed for his unrestricted rides, and on returning, dined as heartily as he would have done at fifteen years of age. Had it not been for the annoyances which condemned him to shut himself up in the damp atmosphere of this old ruinous place, he would have had a good prospect of another twenty years of life; but as it was, I feared that it was already too late to combat the disease which was undermining his constitution.

Every vessel signalled as coming from Europe, gave us a few hours of hope; but this first impression was always followed by more or less intense annoyance, caused by the communications of Sir Hudson Lowe. Family letters, cases of books, or instructions from his government, everything afforded him a pretext for paying a visit to Longwood. This time the pretext was the communication of a despatch received from

Lord Bathurst, relative to General Bertrand. He insisted on my undertaking to communicate this despatch to the Emperor. I obstinately refused, and endeavoured to convince him of the inutility of this communication, since I was certain that Lord Bathurst had received false information concerning the projects of the Grand Marshal, who, I was perfectly convinced, had never thought of returning to Europe. Sir H. Lowe departed, taking with him the despatch which I had refused to receive, and I believed I had thoroughly convinced him; but I was mistaken. Next day, July 7th, he wrote the following letter to the Abbé Buonavita:

"SIR,—The enclosed paper contains information which requires some delicacy and consideration in its communication to the person whom it concerns, and I hope you will excuse my taking the liberty of addressing it to you.

"I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your very obedient servant,
"H. LOWE.

"To the Most Reverend Abbé Buonavita.
"July 7, 1820."

The despatch was as follows:—

"London, March 16, 1820.

"SIR,—I have learned that it is the intention of the Countess and General Bertrand to demand permission to return to Europe; and as in consequence of their departure, the circle of General Bonaparte at

Longwood would be essentially diminished, you will take the first opportunity of informing the General of his Majesty's disposition to satisfy any desire which he may express with respect to any persons whose arrival at Longwood would be agreeable to him.

"If General Bonaparte would prefer leaving the choice of such persons to Cardinal Fesch or the Princess Pauline Borghese, I will immediately make a communication to them to that effect.

It is only necessary to add that the persons thus sent to Longwood would be required to conform to the established regulations—that is to say, would be subjected to the conditions subscribed to by the persons whose places they would supply, as well as to all restrictions which might afterwards be prescribed with reference to this island.

"I have the honour to be, Sir,

"Your very obedient servant.

"BATHURST."

"To Lieutenant-General Sir Hudson Lowe."

The Abbé Buonavita hastened to bring me these letters. I entreated him not to say anything about them to the Emperor, but immediately to deliver them to the Grand Marshal, whom they greatly astonished. He could only find an explanation of them by attributing them to violation of the secresy of the most private family communications. He had expressed in a letter to his old father, his regret at finding himself totally unable to procure for his children the lessons of all

kinds so absolutely necessary to their education, and had said some words about the necessity under which he should find himself of making a voyage to Europe for the purpose of delivering them to the charge of his father, unless events should speedily put an end to the Emperor's captivity.

Bertrand carried the whole affair to the Emperor; his natural and friendly explanations were fully understood, and the letters were placed among the archives deposited with me.

The Abbé Buonavita received orders to reply to the Governor that he had communicated his letters, and was not charged with any answer.

This incident had, however, some influence on the Emperor's state. He always found difficulty in accustoming himself to the idea that a being whom he loved could love any one else than him; he often confessed this to me. "I am attached to you as to a son, because I believe that you love but me; for if you loved any one besides me, you would not love me. I do not believe that our nature is capable of entertaining a divided love; we deceive ourselves when we think we love two beings equally. There is always a dominant affection; and in the heart of any one whom I love and honour with my confidence, I desire to be that dominant affection; I will have no division. Do you understand?" added he, approaching me and taking me by the ear. He continued, "All these things make me feel the penknife; my nature is very susceptible of impression; the poison of the mind has a much

more fatal effect upon me than a dose of arsenic could have. For example; at Fontainebleau, Evan assured me that his powder would kill me were I only to inhale the smell of it. Well; it failed in its effect. Mr. Lowe will not fail in his. Before a year is over, you will wear mourning for me."

At this moment, the calêche arrived at the entrance to the covered walk in which we were taking our promenade. The noise of the horses arrested his steps as well as his thoughts, and turning towards me, he said, "Come, my son, give me your arm; and let us go and drive round Dead Wood to get an appetite."

During the night, our conversation having brought to his mind recollections of the reign of the Convention, and of his sojourn in Paris after the siege of Toulon, he gave me the following details:—

"I was at this period suffering from one of those nauseous affections which suspend the faculties of the brain, and render life a burden too heavy to be borne. My mother had just communicated to me the horror of her position. She had been obliged to flee from the war which our Corsican mountaineers were carrying on against each other, and was now at Marseilles, without any means of subsistence, and having nought but her heroic virtues to defend the honour of her daughters against the misery and corruption of all kinds existing in the manners of that epoch of social chaos. I had nothing remaining but an assignat of a hundred sous; the wicked conduct of the representa-

tive Aubry having deprived me of my salary, my resources were exhausted. I went out, as if urged on to suicide by an animal instinct, and walked along the quays, feeling my weakness, but unable to conquer it. In a few more moments, I should have thrown myself into the water, when I ran against an individual dressed like a simple mechanic, and who, recognising me, threw himself on my neck, and cried, 'Is it you, Napoleon? what joy to see you again!'—It was Démasis, a former comrade of mine in the artillery regiment; he had emigrated, and had afterwards returned to France in disguise, to see his aged mother. He was about to go, when, stopping, he said 'What is the matter? You do not listen to me; you do not seem glad to see me; what misfortune threatens you? You look to me like a madman about to kill himself.' This direct appeal to the feeling which had seized on me, produced a total revulsion in my mind, and without reflecting, I told him everything. 'Is that all?' said he, opening his coarse waistcoat, and detaching a belt which he placed in my hands; 'here are 30,000 francs in gold; take them, and save your mother.' I cannot to this day explain to myself my motives for so doing, but I seized the gold as by a convulsive movement, and ran like a madman to send it to my mother. It was not until it was out of my hands that I thought of what I had done. I hastened back to the spot where I had left Démasis, but he was no longer there. For several days continuously I went out in the morning and returned not till evening, searching

every place where I hoped to find him. All the researches I then made, as well as those which I made after my accession to power, were in vain. It was not till the Empire was approaching its fall that I again discovered Démasis. It was now my turn to question him, and to ask him what he had thought of my strange conduct, and why I had never heard even his name for fifteen years. 'He had done as I did,' he replied; 'and as he had not stood in need of his money, he had not asked me for it, although he was well assured that I should find no difficulty in reimbursing him; but he had feared that I should force him to quit the retirement in which he lived happily, occupying himself with horticulture.' I had very great difficulty in making him accept 300,000 francs as an imperial reimbursement for the 30,000 lent to his comrade in the regiment; and made him accept, against his will, the office of Director-General of the Crown Gardens, with a salary of 30,000 francs, and the honours of an officer of the household. I also gave a very good place to his brother.

"Two of my comrades in the military school and in the artillery regiment, the two, perhaps, to whom I was the most closely united by the sympathies of early youth, Démasis and Philippeau, had, by one of those mysteries of Providence which we often see, immense influence on my destiny. Démasis, as I have just said, stopped me at the moment when I was about to kill myself; and Philippeau stopped me before St. Jean d'Acre. Had it not been for him, I should have been master of this key of the east. I should have marched

upon Constantinople, and rebuilt the throne of the east.

" There was another period of my life when I attempted to commit suicide; but you are certainly acquainted with this fact?"—" No, sire," replied I. " In that case, write what I shall tell you, for it is well that the mysteries of Fontainebleau should one day be made known.

" On the 4th of April, 1815, I had just been on parade in the court of the White Horse, and was re-entering my cabinet with the Prince of Neufchâtel, in order to give him some final instructions for his movements, before mounting my horse for the purpose of removing my head-quarters to Pont-Thierry, when, with some embarrassment, he requested an audience for the marshals. I ordered them to be admitted, but with them the Duke of Bassano, the Duke of Vicenza, and the Grand Marshal.

" ' Moved by our devotion to your person and your dynasty,' stammered one of the marshals, ' we have determined to tear the veil which still conceals the terrible truth from you. All is lost, if your Majesty hesitates to resign the crown in favour of your son; at this price alone is peace possible; the army is weary, discouraged, disorganized; desertion is at work among the ranks; to re-enter Paris cannot be thought of, for in attempting to do so, we should but uselessly shed blood.'

" The sudden discouragement of the chiefs of the army contrasted strangely with the ardour manifested

by the troops which surrounded me, but it coincided with the reports of the state of Paris, which the Duke of Vicenza had made to me on his return from the mission to the Emperor Alexander, which he had just fulfilled. The Emperor's last words had been:—'*I carry on no diplomacy with you, but I cannot tell you everything; understand this, and lose not an hour in rendering an account to the Emperor Napoleon of our conversation, and of the situation of his affairs here, and return again as quickly, bringing his abdication in favour of his son. As to his personal fate, I give you my word of honour that he will be properly treated; but lose not an hour, or all is lost for him, and I shall no longer have power to do anything either for him or for his dynasty.*'

"This was to me an incontestable symptom of the progress of defection. Civil war would be inevitable if I continued the contest.

"I hesitated not to make the sacrifice demanded of my patriotism; I sat down at a little table on which were some sheets of paper and an inkstand, and wrote my Act of Abdication in favour of my son, which I charged the Duke of Vicenza to carry to Paris, accompanied by the Prince of Moskowa and the Duke of Ragusa; the latter I had for twenty-five years been accustomed to regard as one of the best of men; when I was a lieutenant in the artillery, I had even shared my pay with him, as with a brother. But some observations, made, I believe, by the Duke of Bassano,

made me prefer Marshal Macdonald, who was also present.

"The sacrifice of my crown was not the severest blow which fate had reserved for that day. Gourgaud, whom I had sent to Marmont, returned without having been able to fulfil his mission; Marmont had quitted my standard; his corps no longer protected Fontainebleau; and on receiving the news of his defection, the Allies had rejected my abdication, declaring that they were now re-erecting the throne of the Bourbons.

"On the announcement of this news, discouragement reigned around me: events proceeded too slowly; each of those who surrounded me with difficulty suppressed his impatience to go and seek a position in the new order of things which the monarchy of Louis XVIII. was about to create. . . . To all my ideas for saving my country from a counter-revolution, they opposed the image of civil war, because they knew that to show me this image as the consequence of a continuation of the war, was to deal the fatal blow to my resolutions; and when, urged to the utmost, I said to them, 'Since we must renounce the defence of France, let us at least save Italy; let her preserve her nationality, and be a place of refuge to the unhappy Frenchmen whom the vengeance of the emigration awaits,' a gloomy silence proved to me but too well that I had nothing more to expect from the men whom I had raised by my favours to the highest dignities in the empire and in the army.

"Exhausted by this struggle of my mind, a mind French in every feeling, and faithful to my oath, I gave up that crown which I had only accepted for the glory and prosperity of France.

"From the time of my retreat from Russia, I had constantly carried suspended round my neck, and contained in a little silken bag, a portion of a poisonous powder, which Evan had prepared by my orders, when I was in fear of being carried off prisoner by Cossacks. .... My life no longer belonged to my country: the events of the few last days had again rendered me master of it,—'Why should I endure so much suffering?' I reflected; 'and who knows that my death may not replace the crown on the head of my son?' France was saved. I hesitated no longer, but leaping from my bed, mixed the poison in a little water, and drank it with a sort of feeling of happiness.

"But time had taken away its strength; fearful pains drew forth some groans from me; they were heard, and medical assistance arrived. It was not God's will that I should die so soon..... St. Helena was in my desti ny."

CHAPTER V.

INCREASING ILLNESS OF THE EMPEROR.

A LETTER from General Gourgaud made us laugh heartily; he compared our captivity to a bed of asparagus sown in 1815; but he thought us better gardeners than we were, for none of us knew how many years one sowing of asparagus would last.

We should not have understood his comparison at all, had it not occurred to the Emperor to question Noverras on the subject, as he said that he, being a Swiss, must have learned all these things in his youth.

The 15th of August was, as usual, a day on which the Emperor gave presents to us and to our children. He seemed heartily to share in the noisy joy with which the munificence of his presents inspired Hortense and Napoleon; he appeared to be truly happy, as a good father might be in the midst of his family, when

at dinner, he was surrounded by our children, or when he amused himself by exciting their gaiety and drawing forth their little secrets.

His great pleasure was to constitute himself judge between them and us: he had accustomed them to this, and really I know not how we should have contrived to preserve our parental authority had he not always found means to adjudge us in the right, at the same time that he persuaded the children that his justice was impartial; but whenever the question agitated related to a piece of bread and jam, or a party of pleasure, his judgment was always in favour of the children, to the great despair of the mother.

Antommarchi was the cause of Sir H. Lowe's paying me a visit. The poor young man grew weary of our monkish life; he passed his days in riding over the island, or through James Town. The orderly officer, on his side, grew tired of passing his life on horseback; and this was not all: Antommarchi had scarcely returned to Longwood when he went out on some walking excursion, and constantly forgot the fatal hour at which the day circuit was reduced to one of a few yards round the house. The sentinels then arrested him, and he could not be again set free without an order from a superior officer.

On the 2nd of September, the Emperor caused the Grand Marshal to write a letter to Lord Liverpool, demanding liberty to go and take mineral baths in England, or in any other country which might be pointed out to him; but Sir H. Lowe sent back this

letter to the Grand Marshal, under pretext that it was sealed. This gave rise to fresh and bitter discussions; and this may indeed be almost said at every page of this memoir, for Sir H. Lowe's annoyances and petty quarrels were incessant; this time, however, Sir H. Lowe at length received the letter, and wrote to inform us that he would forward it to his government.

This little victory again brought back the Emperor's desire of riding. Mr. Doveton's cottage was always the favourite object of his excursions; he liked to have his breakfast carried thither, to enjoy it under the fine shade of this part of the island, and to remain there for a part of the day: he frequently did not return to Longwood till nightfall. This exercise combatted, with some success, the progress of his internal malady. On the 11th of October, however, he was very unwell while returning to Longwood; violent pains in the stomach obliged him to proceed at a walk for the greatest part of the way, and in the evening he had a very bad fit of vomiting. He at length decided upon having recourse to a remedy which Corvisard had prescribed to him in a similar case, and of which he had advised him to make use if he ever experienced the same symptoms of internal inflammation. On the morning of the 14th of October, he had an issue made in his left arm. Antommarchi would have preferred the use of blisters, but the Emperor refused his consent, saying, "*Do you think then that Mr. Lowe does not torture me enough?*" The good effect of this remedy again made the Emperor feel a desire

for exercise: the rides re-commenced. On his way back to Longwood on the 1st of November, the Emperor, seeing that there were no workmen employed about the new house, yielded to a feeling of curiosity to see it; the fine dimensions of the apartments destined to him struck him, and he could not refrain from saying that he would be much more comfortable there than at the old Longwood, and that, in fact, it would be acting like the children who quarrel with their bread and butter to refuse to inhabit it when it was finished. Then he pointed out to me some slight changes of arrangement, which he wished me to indicate to the Governor as being my personal opinion; he persuaded himself that Sir H. Lowe would not know the truth, as if everything that passed at Longwood was not known to him, even in its most minute details: the habit of exercising royal power sometimes gives rise to strange illusions!

What I had been unable to make the Emperor admit, happened, nevertheless; the telegraph conveyed the news of our examination of the new house to Plantation House, while I was receiving instructions to request, as of my own accord, that a door of communication should be opened here, or a bell placed there; and the next day, Sir H. Lowe came to speak with me on the subject, asking me how General Bonaparte had liked his new habitation.

The Emperor's displeasure was extreme; he dictated to me a letter full of bitterness, in which he declared that he would never, unless forced so to do,

enter the iron cage which was being constructed by the English government; this allusion referred to the iron railing destined to enclose the garden, terrace, and parterre surrounding the house.

This time we were again victorious; the works relating to the iron railing were suspended, and Sir H. Lowe agreed to adopt another system of enclosure which should agree with our wishes, on the side of the house towards the fields; it was also agreed that free communication should be left on the side looking towards the gardens of the old house.

Sir H. Lowe pretended, throughout the whole of this quarrel, that his intention in placing the iron railing was solely to supply the place of mean looking enclosures of planks on ditches planted with aloes, by an elegant paling, similar to that used in the finest sites in Europe; but the Emperor replied, through me, that in this assertion he saw but another piece of irony; and that, moreover, it mattered little to him, whether the paling remained or was removed, because he would never set foot in the house.

It was at this period that a proposal of great importance was renewed by a naval captain. His vessel was returning from the Indies; he had arranged everything so as to be able to receive the Emperor in a boat at a point of the coast previously designated, and convey him to his vessel without his running the slightest risk of being stopped. He asked no reward for himself, but demanded a million of francs for the person whose concurrence was necessary, in order that

the Emperor might safely pass from Longwood to the coast.

This million was not to be payable until the Emperor had reached America, and even landed; another condition was, that the Emperor should only be accompanied by two persons.

The Emperor charged me to obtain the minutest details of his plan from this generous man, and demanded to know the name of the person with whom he affirmed that he had established an understanding; this was immediately told, but not until the Emperor had sent through me the following reply: "That he thanked the captain for his devotedness, and believed in the success of his plan, but that his resolution not to struggle against his destiny being immovable, he must persist in refusing his offers."

Another project of a similar nature was conceived; it was to be carried out by means of submarine vessels; five or six thousand louis were expended on this project by a friend of O'Meara's. I have reason to believe that the Emperor would equally have refused to quit St. Helena, even had one of these vessels succeeded in touching at the only point of coast which it might have been possible for us to succeed in reaching, by hiding ourselves in some ravine outside our enclosure from six o'clock in the evening, and by descending towards the coast at night by running a hundred risks of breaking our necks.

To all these offers of escape the Emperor always replied, when speaking to me: "I should not be six

months in America without being assassinated by the Count d'Artois' creatures; remember the Isle of Elba; did he not send the *chouan* Brulard thither to organize my assassination? Had it not been for the brave man whom chance had placed as marshal of the quarters of the gendarmerie in Corsica, and who caused me to be warned of the mission of this life-guardsman, who confessed everything to Dronot, I should have been assassinated; and besides, we should always obey our destiny; everything is written in Heaven: it is my martyrdom which will restore the Crown of France to my dynasty. I see in America nothing but assassination or oblivion; I prefer St. Helena."

The month of December began and ended ill, although Sir Hudson Lowe allowed us more repose than usual. The Emperor more regularly experienced what he called his stab of a penknife. The Abbé Buonavita had an attack of apoplexy; happily, Antommarchi was at Longwood, and bled him immediately; this saved him for the time. And, lastly, we heard of the death of the Princess Elysa, formerly Grand Duchess of Tuscany. "She was a woman of a masterly mind," said the Emperor to me. "Had I not been in existence, what is said of the Duchess of Angoulême, that she wears the breeches of the family, might with reason be said of her. She had," added he, "noble qualities and a remarkable mind; but no intimacy ever existed between us; our characters were opposed to this." This Princess had

been brought up at the Royal Chapter of St. Cyr, founded by Madame de Maintenon, in the latter days of Louis XIV., for the education of girls of noble family, but without fortune. The history of the infancy of his sisters led the Emperor to speak of some family intrigues which had, on several occasions, caused him much annoyance. His marriage with the Empress Josephine had been displeasing to his brothers, Joseph and Lucien; she was aware of this, and there always existed a mutual feeling of bitterness between them.

"My divorce," said he, "has no parallel in history; for it did not destroy the ties which united our families, and our mutual tenderness remained unchanged; our separation was a sacrifice demanded of us by reason, for the interest of my crown and of my dynasty. Josephine was devoted to me; she loved me tenderly; no one ever had a preference over me in her heart. I occupied the first place in it; her children the next; and she was right in thus loving me; for she is the being whom I have most loved, and the remembrance of her is still all-powerful in my mind.

"Doubtless, two objections might be made to the necessity of a divorce. My brother Louis had sons, and the Empress had a son. The first were children whose education I could direct. The organic senatus-consultum of the Empire summoned them to the throne, and my age justified a hope, that, at my death, they would already be known to the French people, and esteemed by them worthy of succeeding

me, in default of my brothers, Joseph and Lucien. Then, again, Eugene Beauharnais had made trial of his talents as a general and an administrator. My Italian subjects rendered him full justice; the French loved him, and were vexed to see him excluded from inheritance to the throne of France. His mother had often urged me to adopt him as my successor; this was an idea constantly in her mind; the common law from that moment rendered him my heir-apparent, without its being necessary to change the organic senatus-consultum in any way; but should Eugene succeed me, I should not have formed a dynasty; for paternity by adoption is but a fusion of the law; the good sense of my subjects would reject it; the blood of the fourth dynasty would be that of a Beauharnais, and not of a Napoleon. To this poor Josephine had nothing to reply; and the moment she could no longer entertain hopes for her son, her resentment against my brothers began to show itself as a necessity for the sacrifice of her position.

"Marriage is still considered as a sacrament in France, notwithstanding the passage of the revolutionary tempest, which overthrew the altars of Christ, transformed the cloisters into manufactories, and created millions of marriages without the intervention of the church.

"To bring about my divorce, the double intervention of the civil and ecclesiastical authorities was necessary; the former was bestowed on the senate by the constitution of the Empire, the latter had been restored to the episcopal court of Paris by the concordat of

1801. A previous form was required by the civil law—the mutual consent of the parties; for between Josephine and me the question of divorce could not rest on infidelity or bad treatment; I had, it is true, at one time thought of taking as an example for the motive of my divorce, the declaration made by Henry IV., when he separated from Margaret of Valois, and I sent for the registers of the episcopal court in which it was registered; but the indecency of the motive alleged by this king disgusted me, and I kept to the truth, telling my people, 'I sacrifice my domestic happiness to you.'

"The High Chancellor received, in the family council which I convoked at the Tuileries, the paper announcing our mutual consent, and our mutual request for the dissolution of our marriage, and the senate pronounced the divorce in solemn sitting. The decree of the senate was presented in the prescribed form, by the Council of Thirty, to the tribunal of the metropolitan episcopal court; all the formalities observed in the divorce of Henry IV. were scrupulously observed, and this tribunal pronounced the dissolution of my marriage with Josephine in the same terms, and in the same manner, as it had pronounced the divorce of Henry IV.

"The Empress Josephine received from the treasury of France a million francs a year, and the fine demesne of Navarre as a royal residence. She received from my private treasury a million francs a year, and to this I added Malmaison as a country residence, and

the Elysée as a residence in Paris, whenever she should wish to sojourn in that city. To these gifts I added the Palace of Laaken, near Brussels, because, a short time after our separation, she expressed a desire to pass her winters at Brussels. I always thought that this idea was suggested to her by one of her ladies of honour, Madame Darberg, who, being a member of one of the highest families in Belgium, was very glad of this opportunity of returning among her relations.

"I had long before secured the royal position of Josephine's children and family. Her daughter Hortense had married the king of Holland, and her children were heirs-presumptive to my crown. Eugene had been adopted by me to succeed me on the throne of Italy, in case I should die without leaving two male children. I had married him to the daughter of the king of Bavaria, and had given him domains worth more than forty millions of francs in the Romagna and the Venetian States. Stephanie de Beauharnais, her niece, was married to the Grand Duke of Baden, who is father-in-law of the Emperor of Russia, the king of Bavaria, and the ex-king of Sweden. Stephanie had been, for some years, under the care of an Englishwoman, to whom her mother, who died during her emigration, had confided her in the year 1800. This Englishwoman died when Stephanie was only seven years old. The Empress, on hearing of it, easily succeeded in having the child sent to France; she took charge of her education, and at length obtained permission to adopt her, and procure a good marriage for

her. Another of her nieces married the Duke d'Aremberg, whose family was the first in Belgium. Her nephew,. young Tascher, married the princess of Leyen, niece of the primate of France. I, therefore, had nothing to do but to continue my protection to all these objects of Josephine's affection, and I was never wanting in this; they all proved to me that they were worthy of it, except the Duchess of Aremberg."

The Emperor afterwards occupied himself by putting in order his different dictations on war in general, and on his last campaigns; I give them as he desired me to class them.*

The night between the 31st of December 1820, and the 1st of January 1821, was one of the last passed in intimate conversation on the recollections of a better time. The disease, which was some months later to deprive us of the Emperor, made, after this time, rapid progress. He daily felt himself less disposed to activity either of mind or body; a general feeling of fatigue oppressed him, he said; he remained sometimes for hours listlessly seated in a bergère, and perfectly silent; he who before had passed the greatest part of the day in pacing the apartment, at the same time either dictating, or recalling recollections and collecting materials for his work. I now often remained standing for hours near him, expecting the termination of a phrase, or waiting till he should decide upon

* These dictations will be found in the fourth volume.

rousing himself from his state of torpor, otherwise than by these few words: "Well, my son! what have you now to say? What shall we do?" And it was only by reiterated entreaties, dictated by the convictions of a filial tenderness which he deigned to understand, that I was able to persuade him to take the air, either on foot or in the calêche; and this always revived him, until the crisis of the 17th of March, which was the prelude of his death.

We had been talking of the embassy to Holland of Monsieur de Sémonville, my adopted father, and of the ex-director, Goyer, who at this time was consul-general at Amsterdam, a good man, a man of honour, and a republican by conviction—an honest man, in short, as Carnot was.

It was difficult to recall Goyer to mind without thinking of the part of a dupe which he played on the 18th of Brumaire, and also of the incidents of that day, the cradle of the empire.

"Sieyes," said the Emperor, "supping with the chiefs of the republican party, some days after the 18th of Brumaire, said to them, at the same time throwing his cap violently on the ground, when the servants had left the room, 'There is no longer any republic; it is.... I have for these last eight days been conferring on public affairs with a man who knows everything—he needs neither counsel nor aid; policy, laws, and the art of government are all as familiar to him as the command of an army. He is young and full of energy; I repeat to you, there is no longer a republic.'

"'But,' cried the republicans, 'if he becomes a tyrant, we must have recourse to the poniard of Brutus.' 'Alas, my friends,' replied Sieyes, 'after his death we should fall into a still more deplorable situation; we had better keep him; with him we shall at least be sure that our national honour will be well cared for, and we shall never again see tithes or feudal servitude.'

"Sieyes, as you know, had undertaken to draw up the constitution, which was definitively to organize France, after the 18th of Brumaire. He had conceived an idea of a sort of social pyramid, which, according to his plan, was to make confidence come from below and power descend from above. He created an image of royalty, like that made for England by the revolution of 1688, but without the title of king, the inviolability, and the hereditary succession, which form articles of the latter. We had warm discussions on this subject; I was at length obliged to get angry, in order to put an end to this idealogy. 'Your Grand Elector,' said I, in one of our last conversations, 'would be nothing but an idle king; the time for do-nothing kings is gone by; what man of any mind or feeling would submit to such idleness? Six millions of francs and the Tuileries to play the stage-king in, put his signature to other people's work, and do nothing of himself,—all this is an impossibility, a dream; your Grand Elector would be nothing but a pig to fatten, or else a master, the more absolute because he would have no responsibility. I tell you plainly, that if I

consented to be your Grand Elector, I would laugh at you, and do what I chose; I would tell the consuls of peace and war—'If you will not do what I wish, I will displace you;' and thus I should become the master by a winding way, in spite of your constitution.'

"It was on quitting me after this conversation, that Sieyes said to Roger Ducos, 'My dear colleague, we have not a president, we have a master. You and I have no more to do but to make our fortunes before making our packets.' Sieyes was, at least, naturally an honest man, of severe probity, and remarkable merit; but he loved money, although he was incapable of procuring it in any unlawful way. He said to me, when we were alone, after one of our first conversations, at the time of my Consulate, 'Do you know, Citizen Consul, what there is in this buffet?' 'No,' replied I. 'There are 500,000 francs in it; it was a politic measure which we took at the time of the Directory. Barras must certainly have forgotten them.' 'Well!' said I, 'do not you forget them.' He thanked me, and had them taken to his house. I believe that this sum was then his whole fortune.

"This reminds me of an anecdote which he himself related to me.

"He was almoner to one of the Princesses of France; one day while he was reading mass, some accidental circumstance obliged the Princess to retire; her ladies followed her. Sieyes, who was very busy reading his missal, did not at first perceive her departure; but when he saw himself abandoned by all the

great people, and having no auditory left but the domestics, he closed the missal, and left the altar, crying, '*I do not say mass for the rabble.*' This trait is characteristic, and perfectly depicts the character of Sieyes."

On the 1st of January, 1821, the Emperor only received the respects of the Grand Marshal. He was very much indisposed, and when, on leaving him at six o'clock in the morning, I asked what was his pleasure respecting the hour at which he would permit us all to wish him a happy year, he replied, "As regards your own good wishes, I receive them now; and as we pass sixteen hours out of the twenty-four together, if you wish to repeat them during the day, you are welcome so to do. As regards Bertrand, tell him to come and breakfast with us. I shall see no one else; I shall not leave my apartment to-day; without being exactly ill, I feel no inclination to any exertion."

The new house had now become Sir H. Lowe's *idée fixé*, for it gave him almost a daily opportunity of seeing the Emperor. This man's character was a very singular one; he required constant nourishment for the uneasy and restless workings of his imagination, and when this nourishment was not the natural result of the danger of his prisoner's escape, he sought for it everywhere, as the bloodhound seeks for the track of the stag on whom a pack of hounds is waiting to rush. One day he brought Mr. Darling, the person charged

with furnishing the new house, to me; he desired to have my opinion on the selection of the hangings and furniture of the Emperor's apartments; as I had orders to persist in the system already adopted of not interfering in this affair, I declared frankly to Sir H. Lowe, that I would have nothing to do with it; but he did not easily consider himself beaten; he hoped to tempt me by making Mr. Darling show me some very beautiful stuffs, destined, he said, to furnish my apartments, and by asking which I should prefer to be used for the saloon, the cabinet, and the bedroom. I, however, kept to my resolution; and gave him no opinion on anything.

About this time we received several visits. The compliments of the season were the objects of most of these; Marquis Montchenu and Captain Gorr, however, brought me a series of French newspapers, and a veritable *bulletin de salon*, extracted from their private correspondence.

The Emperor took a long ride in the direction of Rosemary Hall. We came back by Miss Masson's cottage. He alighted and rested there for a few moments. Riding fatigued him.

On the 20th of January, 1821, he seemed to me to be pretty well when I left him at six o'clock in the morning, but he only took a little tea and a fresh egg for his breakfast; he did not feel inclined to work; during his ride, he felt a sort of sensation like sea-sickness, and went to bed earlier than usual.

He passed a pretty good night; I say pretty good,

because towards midnight, the Emperor, who had taken nothing since his breakfast, felt some appetite, and ate the wing of a chicken; but at three o'clock he insisted on drinking some lemonade, because, as he said, he wanted to cool the fire which burned in his stomach.

When Antommarchi saw him in the morning, he found an increased rapidity of pulse, and determined on commencing a course of pills, from which he hoped for the greatest benefit.

Sir H. Lowe, who had not caught sight of the Emperor for three days, came on the 25th to talk with me on the subject of his health; he wished to add the services of an English medical man to those of Antommarchi; and on the 27th, he again came to me, to tell me that Antommarchi had informed Sir Thomas Reade of his intention of quitting the service of the Emperor; he even pretended that he had written to him, but this I could not believe; he, at the same time, spoke to me about Lord Bathurst's letter, relative to General Bertrand, and insisted upon an answer.

The Emperor, to whom I recounted this conversation with Sir H. Lowe, because he had seen him enter my apartments, dictated to me, that same night, the following note:—

1. "The Emperor Napoleon is ill; he can never experience relief on this island. He requires the air of Europe, and to take mineral waters during the present year, in order to put an end to his cruel sufferings.

2. " The services of Mr. Antommarchi, his surgeon, are not sufficient to aid him in his present state. He desires to have one of the physicians of his former House of Health at Paris, or one who has served in the army as physician-in-chief to a corps, and is more than forty-five years old. Messieurs Degenettes, Percy, and Larrey, might be particularly pointed out, as fitted to select any one of those physicians whom they might think worthy of the confidence of the patient.

3. " He will willingly receive, in the place of Count Bertrand, any person who may have been attached to his person, and more particularly points out, as fitting persons from whom a selection may be made, the Dukes of Vicenza and Rovigo, the Counts Ségur, Montesquiou, Daru, Dronot, and Turenne, or the scientific men, Baron de Dénon and Arnaud.

" The measure taken by Lord Bathurst of addressing himself to Cardinal Fesch, at Rome, and which appeared wise, has failed in its effect through the constant surveillance exercised over the members of his family, and the impossibility which they experience of corresponding with France; their necessary communications can only be made through the intervention of the English government in France.

" MONTHOLON.

" Longwood, January 27th, 1821."

Dr. Antommarchi wrote to me on the 31st of January, to inform me that he desired to return to Europe;

that he felt with regret his inability to gain the confidence of the Emperor.

That night the Emperor dictated to me a reply to Antommarchi's letter; it is very severe:

"SIR,—The Emperor, taking into consideration the desire which you manifested to me in your letter of the 31st inst., to effect your return to Europe, authorizes you to apply to the English commanding officer of St. Helena, for facilities for your passage.

"If it were possible for you to be placed on the same vessel as the Abbé Buonavita, your assistance would be very useful to this dying old man, in the accidents which might happen to him during so long a voyage.

"During the fifteen months which you have spent in this country, you have given his Majesty no confidence in your moral character; you can be of no use to him in his illness, and your residing here for some months longer would have no object, and be of no use.

"I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

"MONTHOLON."

The Abbé Buonavita was at this time very ill; Antommarchi did not, however, despair.

I received a visit from Sir Thomas Reade, and we arranged that if the Emperor did not in the meantime change his mind, Antommarchi and Buonavita should return to Europe in the same vessel, when the time for the sailing of the India-men, now approaching,

arrived. The Governor again came to speak to me about the furnishing of the new house, and about the arrangements relative to the small enclosure destined for the Emperor's walks, after the placing of the night-sentinels. I discussed all these things with him on the spot, but gave all my opinions as if they came from myself, and were not authorized; thus obeying the instructions which the Emperor had previously given me. All the arrangements which I pointed out as my personal counsel, were approved without discussion.

The Grand Marshal and I at length obtained Antommarchi's pardon, and obtained leave for him to resume his services next day at the hour of the Emperor's bath. He was really a good young man, and much devoted to the Emperor; it was a pity that he was not ten years older.

The Governor sent me letters and newspapers from England. These always brought a time of calm to the Emperor, who took pleasure in having the English newspapers translated to him; the anecdotes of the *salons* amuse him.

The Emperor, on one of these days, was taken ill while taking his drive in the calèche. These constant relapses and changes from well to ill gave me great uneasiness.

Antommarchi again urged the use of blisters.

We now had plenty of visits; many from captains of vessels touching at the island, who were induced by curiosity to visit us. The Emperor would receive

no more visits; he felt no inclination for anything, and it was with great difficulty that I could persuade him to drive round Dead Wood in the calêche.

He was growing thin so rapidly that the reports of the orderly officer gave real uneasiness to Sir Hudson Lowe; or, at least, it seemed to me that he was sincere in his urgent entreaties to me that I would get the Emperor to consent to have an English physician, either of the army or navy, summoned to a consultation, or even attached to his service. I avoided all bitterness in my replies, and succeeded in defeating him, by putting before his eyes the note which I formerly addressed to him, informing him under what conditions the Emperor would consent to receive the assistance of an English medical attendant. I, moreover, assured him that the affair with Antommarchi was settled, and that he would remain with us.

However, on the 1st of March, Dr. Arnott came to see me, and Sir Hudson Lowe had evidently been speaking to him, for he said to me: "I know not what may be my destiny; but if ever I should have the honour to be received by the Emperor, I give you my word that I would conduct myself like an old soldier who has never known any other guide than honour." I repeated this to the Emperor, who remembered having seen him with me when I was ill, and having thought his face and manners those of an honest man. He added—"Really, if I felt myself very ill, and I were decidedly obliged to dismiss this young man, I should prefer having him to any one else.'

The departure of Buonavita was now determined on; but I much feared that he would not be the only one. What incomprehensible things are there in this world! Gentilini wished to return to his country. Chandelier requested to be allowed to depart as soon as another person should arrive to fill his place. The disease of the country was decidedly gaining ground in our little colony. The Emperor was aware of it, and wished that I should let things take their course; but I saw clearly that all this affected him. Then, again, Marchand and Noverras had just fallen ill. The 'Repulse' brought us some uninteresting letters and newspapers from England, but the arrival of two vessels from India gave Sir Hudson Lowe an opportunity of writing to the Grand Marshal, that one of the two was the 'Waterloo,' with the captain of which he was acquainted.

It really seemed as if the isolation of the Emperor were an *idée fixé* of the man's hatred, and that to seize or make any opportunity of persuading any one of us to quit the Emperor, was an enjoyment which he could not resist.

The Emperor was very unwell on the 16th of March; he took nothing all day but some orange-flower water, and, contrary to his habit, went to bed about five o'clock. Sir H. Lowe sent me two boxes of books and newspapers. What I learned from the visit of the captain of the 'Waterloo' to the Grand Marshal, determined me to have a serious but perfectly friendly explanation with the latter, the success of

which afforded me a feeling of joy, in the midst of the sad thoughts caused by the state of the Emperor. I told Bertrand all my uneasiness, and my conviction of the inexperience of Antommarchi, who, in spite of all I told him of my daily and nightly observations, persisted in smiling when I told him of the stab of a penknife, and regarded all these symptoms of internal disorder, as simply the effect of the want of sufficient exercise. "You think, no doubt," added I, seeing that he persisted in thinking that he might absent himself for a time, to go and take his children to Europe, "that in speaking thus to you, I play the game of a political interest, and that the Emperor makes use of me to exaggerate to you the serious nature of his disease. But you forget that I speak against my own personal interest, or you think me stupid enough not to understand the part which you would have delegated to me, if the Emperor should die while you were on sea, even if you were only ten leagues distant from St. Helena. Read my heart better! It is my devotion to the Emperor, it is the harm which your departure will do him, and my conviction of the disease which is undermining his constitution, which make me forget my own interest, and speak to you as I do, and also my respect for your estimable character." "I am going to the Emperor," replied the Grand Marshal, interrupting me; "let us hope that you will find him well when you see him to-night."

And, in fact, I found the Emperor looking quite a different person when I went to him at eleven o'clock

in the evening; he recounted to me the conversation which he had with Bertrand; it had made him very happy; and after having walked for a long time up and down the rooms, he asked for his dinner. He went to bed, however, contrary to his custom, at four o'clock in the morning.

The Abbé Buonavita left us on the 17th of March; Gentilini also left. Antommarchi wished to accompany his venerable countryman to the town; this was certainly very natural; but, unfortunately, he had not yet returned from this expedition when the Emperor was taken very ill, and had a violent fit of vomiting; I remarked something like a clot of blood. This absence of Antommarchi gave the Emperor great displeasure, and when the poor Doctor returned, he was not received. After this crisis, the disease made such rapid progress, that I will confine myself to copying the daily entries in my Longwood journal.

March 18th, 1821.—The night was good, and was passed in alternate work and conversation. Antommarchi, whom I brought in before I quitted the Emperor this morning at six o'clock, found no traces in his pulse of yesterday's crisis; he only counted sixty-three pulsations in a minute, which is the average number observed by O'Meara and him. This afternoon, at four o'clock, the Emperor took a walk; he had no appetite for dinner, and took a glass of port wine by Antommarchi's advice.

March 19th.—The night pretty good; but we had neither work nor conversation; the greatest part of it

was passed in walking in the saloon or reposing on the sofa, or exchanging some unconnected words on his youthful amours. He was again uneasy about half-past four in the afternoon. After the conclusion of our walk, and when we were going to the calêche, we had only taken a few steps when the vomiting returned. I immediately led or rather carried the Emperor back to his apartment, for he could scarcely stand, so violent was the pain below the left breast. Antommarchi's evil star willed that again he should be absent from Longwood. It is impossible to make him understand the serious nature of the Emperor's disease; he is convinced that all that the Emperor or myself tell him on this point is a politic game played to induce the English government to recal us to Europe.

March 20th.—At two o'clock the Emperor was calm, and fell asleep; he was unwell several times in the night. I wished to call Dr. Antommarchi, who I knew was returned to Longwood; but the Emperor angrily refused, and only consented to see him at his usual hour. When Antommarchi came, he felt the Emperor's pulse; the crisis was over. "The pulsation is in its average state," said he, with a smile of incredulity at the account which I gave him of what I had observed the preceding evening and during the night. The Emperor observed this.

March 21st.—The Emperor worked during the night, and I saw nothing in his appearance or manner which reminded me of his disease; he was almost gay. His dictation had recalled to his mind recollections

of Warsaw and of Madame Waleska. He laughed heartily when he recalled to mind the ball at which he saw her for the first time, but which General Bertrand and Louis de Perrigord, aide-de-camp of the Prince of Neufchâtel, regarded as the cause, inexplicable to them, of the missions with which they were charged amid the noise of the music. "They had no doubt," said he to me, "that my mind was occupied by Madame Waleska, and they both kept hovering emulously around her; several times I found them on my path, particularly Louis de Perrigord; this, at length, became annoying to me, and I told Berthier to send him off immediately to obtain news of the 6th corps, which was on the Passage. I thought that Bertrand would be more clear-sighted, but Madame Waleska's bright eyes had dazzled him; he never quitted her side, and during supper, he leaned on the back of her chair in such a manner that his *aiguillettes* danced hither and thither on the beautiful red and white skin of the shoulders which I admired. My impatience was now roused to such a pitch that I touched him on the arm, and calling him by his name, drew him into the recess of a window, where I gave him orders to set out immediately for the head-quarters of Prince Jerome, and without losing an hour, to bring me a report of the state of the works of the siege of Breslau. The poor fellow was scarcely gone when I repented of my angry impulse; and I should certainly have recalled him, had I not remembered at the same minute that his presence with Jerome would be useful to me."

I had fortunately taken care to recommend Antommarchi to remain at Longwood, for between four and five o'clock in the afternoon the Emperor again found himself unwell, and black vomitings immediately followed. This time Antommarchi, who was immediately summoned, acknowledged the serious nature of the case, and said that there was fever. From this moment he changed his opinion concerning the causes of the attacks of the 17th and 19th, and declared that there were indisputable symptoms of gastric fever. His opinion is that we must have recourse to the treatment indicated by Dr. Alibert. The Emperor wished to read the symptoms pointed out by this celebrated physician, and the treatment which he advises; and after having looked into the book which Antommarchi brought to him, he consented to begin to-morrow to take emetic lemonade.

March 22nd.—A bad night; continued uneasiness up to two o'clock in the morning; irritability, and refusal to let me call Antommarchi. At four o'clock, calm and sleep, until ten.

Antommarchi came in when the Emperor awoke, and brought a bowl of lemonade prepared by himself, begging him to take a glass every hour, and assuring him that he would experience great benefit from it; but scarcely half an hour after the Emperor had taken a glass, he made frightful efforts to vomit, and rolled on the ground uttering groans.

"The effect was too powerful," said Dr. Antommarchi to me, "but it is the necessary remedy, and it must

be continued by all means." The Emperor would not, however, hear of it; he returned to his own medicine, drank a large glass of orange-flower water, and was pretty tranquil during the rest of the day, and in the evening ate some *soupe à la Reine.*

March 23rd.—The night was pretty good. The Emperor wished to work; he looked over his notes on his last wars, and dictated to me for two or three hours. Feeling himself not quite so well this morning, he consented to drink some lemonade, instead of orange-flower water, for which he had asked, but under the condition that there should be no emetic in it; that it should simply be lemonade, prepared as he usually drank it. Nevertheless, not having reliance on Antommarchi, he sent for Pierron, the maître d'hôtel, and gave him his orders. Being thus satisfied, he was about to drink a glass of this lemonade, when, stopping with the glass at his lips, he said to me, "But I think I perceive a curious smell: are you very sure that nothing has been mixed with this lemonade?" "I am convinced of it," replied I, "but it will be best for me to make sure of it. Let not your Majesty drink of it; I will drink some, and we shall see." He gave me his glass, and I drank; ten minutes after, I was seized with such violent sickness that I was scarcely able to gain my chamber.

The Emperor was excessively angry that any one should have dared to deceive him thus: he treated poor Antommarchi as an assassin, and declared to him that he would never see him again. Happily, a case

of books, which arrived from Europe, diverted his mind from the subject; for I doubt not that this irritation of the mind would in the end have influenced that of the stomach, and aggravated the disease. I must here mention that the Emperor, during his whole residence at Longwood, never ate or drank anything which had not been tasted by one of his household. The food removed from his table was eaten by his valets-de-chambre. I breakfasted and dined with him, and during the night constantly tasted the drink prepared for him, which was generally lemonade or orange-flower water. It would have been impossible to administer poison to him, without one of us first feeling the effects of it; and moreover, when any smell struck him as extraordinary, at the moment of putting anything to his lips, he stopped, and said to me, "Taste this; I do not know this smell." It was only on my assuring him that I perceived nothing extraordinary in the taste of the thing which I then ate or drank, that he would partake of it.

"People now rival in this respect the skill of Catherine de Medicis," said he often to me. "I have escaped poisoning ten times, if I have once;" and then he related to me the dangers which he had run, from the period of the commencement of the Consulate.

He was one day leaving the dinner-table with the Empress Josephine and two or three other persons, when, as he was about to put his hand in his pocket for his snuff-box, he perceived it lying on the end of the mantel-piece in the saloon which he was entering. He had

already taken hold of it, and was about to open it and take a pinch, when his good star caused him to seat himself; he then felt that his snuff-box was in one of his pockets. His surprise was observed; the snuff in the two boxes was subjected to a chemical analysis, and the one found on the mantelpiece was discovered to contain poisoned snuff. And yet no one could take fewer precautions against such dangers than the Emperor, and no one could believe more firmly than he did in a destiny more powerful than the will of man. "Our last hour is written above," was his frequent remark to me.

The Emperor wished to open the case of books himself, and appeared to take great pleasure in looking over the books. He passed a good evening. The attacks are evidently intermittent.

March 24th.—To-day, the Emperor felt unwell, but had no vomiting fit. He began to dictate some notes to me on the books which he had looked over yesterday, but the dictation was not well connected, and he at length tore what I had written in pieces, and tried a short walk in the garden; he went to bed at half past seven.

March 25th.—The night was restless; the pain in the left side continual. The Emperor rose several times from his bed, and walked in the saloon; he would have wished to be able to forget his illness, and made efforts to converse and drown the pain by recollections of the past. This morning he was weak and despondent. The day has passed without any fit of vomiting.

March 26th.—There is no change in the Emperor's state; baths and diet evidently afford him intervals of relief in the progress of his disease; but his strength is sensibly diminishing. His head alone still retains its life and vigour, and if he were accustomed to dictate sitting or lying instead of walking about, he would pass the night in dictating to me; but as soon as his thoughts begin to work, he rises, and bodily fatigue very soon obliges him to return to his bed.

March 27th.—The night and day passed without any crisis; but constant uneasiness, disgust at everything, and frequent nausea. The Emperor, however, took the air for a few moments, leaning on my arm: and this seemed to do him good; he even wished to go as far as the Grand Marshal's house, but his strength was not equal to the effort.

He persists in refusing to receive Antommarchi's assistance, and believes that he shall cure himself by a regular diet, orange-flower water, and *soupe-à-la-Reine*. It is madness to entertain such an illusion, for the serious nature of the disease is quite evident. Bertrand and I lose our breath in supplicating him to see a physician.

March 28th.—Sir Hudson Lowe is re-commencing his urgent demands that an English physician should see the Emperor.

March 29th.—I received, to-day, two communications from Sir H. Lowe. There is no change in the Emperor.

March 30th.—Sir Hudson Lowe came here twice

to day, and Sir Thomas Reade once; they insisted on entering the Emperor's apartment, and Sir H. Lowe said to me, "I declare to you, that if what you call the forcible violation of the Emperor's privacy causes his death, I take the responsibility of it on myself." This time, however, he again yielded, and I am happy to have saved the Emperor from an insult.

March 31st.—A renewal of yesterday's scene. The Governor withdrew, on receiving my assurance that I entertained hopes of getting Dr. Arnott admitted to see the Emperor. All these scenes, which it was impossible entirely to keep from the Emperor's knowledge, have aggravated his sufferings. He feels the necessity of medical aid, and has at length consented that Dr. Arnott should be summoned if within the next four-and-twenty hours there were no change for the better. With regard to Antommarchi, he persists in not even allowing his name to be mentioned in his presence.

April 1st.—The Governor came to me at eight in the morning, and remained four hours with me: he returned at three o'clock, and only left me on receiving my word of honour that Dr. Arnott would be summoned if there were no change for the better within four-and-twenty-hours.

April 2nd.—Last night at ten o'clock, the Grand Marshal wrote to Dr. Arnott, informing him that the Emperor had consented to see him, and requesting his immediate attendance. An hour afterwards, that physician was introduced to the Emperor. The

disease, according to him, is very serious; he discovers great inflammation in the region of the stomach; but he must see the vomited matter before decidedly giving his opinion. He has prescribed poultices of various ingredients, and a draught to be taken every hour.

April 3rd.—The Emperor gave his consent to Antommarchi's being present during Dr. Arnott's visit. Blisters have taken the place of poultices, and the medicine has been somewhat changed.

April 4th.—The Emperor passed a pretty tranquil night and day.

April 5th.—Vomiting of blackish matter. Dr. Arnott perceives from its nature that there is ulceration in the stomach. He has prescribed fresh remedies, but has warned Bertrand and myself of the danger which threatens the Emperor.

April 6th.—No change. Sir H. Lowe wrote to me to announce the departure from England of the two cooks, Chandelier, jun., and Perusset.

CHAPTER VI.

THE EMPEROR'S WILL.

APRIL 7th.—THE Emperor caused the Grand Marshal to bring a will, made long ago and confided to him. He had it burned before his eyes. The following is a note in pencil which I found among the Emperor's papers, and which I have reason to believe refers to this will.

"150,000 X 40	6,000,000.	
1. Bertrand	150,000	
2. Madame Bertrand . . .	150,000	
3. Napoleon	150,000	750,000
4. Hortense	150,000	
5. Henri	150,000	
6. Montholon	150,000	
7. Madame Montholon . . .	150,000	
8. Tristan	150,000	600,000
9. The daughter	150,000	

10.	Marchand	150,000	
11.	Pierron, Noverras, St. Denis .	150,000	450,000
12.	The Priests	150,000	
13.	Las Cases	150,000	
14.	The Duke of Bassano . . .	150,000	
15.	Lavalette	150,000	
16.	Madame Lavalette . . .	150,000	300,000
17.	Dronot	150,000	
18.	Cambrone	150,000	
19.	Brayer	150,000	
20.	Lefevre Dësnouettes . . .	150,000	

21. Menneval.
22. Real.
23. Larrey, Surgeon-in-chief to the guard.
24. Costa di Basilica.
25. Ornano, General of the guard.
26. Galaggini.
27. Poggi.
28. Emmery, Surgeon to the battalion of the Isle of Elba.
29. The Commander of the battalion of the guard at Elba.
30. Friaut.
31. Arnault, Homme de Lettres.
32. Fain, Secretary.
33. Mouton Duvernet (his children).
34. Arrighi, Vicar-general of the Isle of Elba.
35. General Clausel.
36. General Travost.
37. General Casalatte.
38. General Girard, killed at Ligny (*his children*).
39. General Bizamur.
40. General Calluan.
41. Madame Lavalette.
42. Madame Montesquiou.

50,000	St. Denis.
30,000	Noverras.
30,000	Pierron.
10,000	Courson.
10,000	Chandelier.
20,000	Archambaud.
150,000	

"These sums are to be paid to the above individuals if they are living at the time of the opening of my will, or if they have legitimate male or female children; in default of which, their portion will devolve to the funds for recompensing the officers and soldiers of the guard who may not have been re-employed, or who may need it, giving a preference to those who formed the battalion of the Isle of Elba, or who made part of the army of Italy in 1796 and 1797, or of Egypt in 1798, 1799, 1800, and 1801, in the proportions of 10,000 to the officers, and 1000 to the privates.

"Two estates, each worth 3,000,000, are to be bought—one for Bertrand, one for Montholon; the two-thirds of the revenues should be placed every year as an increase of the capital up to the year 1840."

April 8th.—Antommarchi is in disgrace. The Emperor sent for him, to arrange something about the dressing of the blister; but he was out on a ride, and did not return till dinner-time. I received orders to declare to him that the Emperor would see him no

more. The Emperor is a little better. He has perspired abundantly: I changed his linen three times during the night; for since Marchand has been ill and confined to bed, the Emperor will receive no one's services but mine. I never quit him by day or night, except at the time when Bertrand is with him: St. Denis watches in the next room, and gives me everything which the Emperor requires.

April 9th.—Dr. Arnott expresses some slight hopes, founded on the state of the pulse and the abundant perspiration.

April 10th.—The Emperor spoke to me to-day of his will. I endeavoured to inspire him with a hope that it would be an unnecessary precaution; but he persisted, and said to me, "I will make it to-morrow, if I continue better."

April 11th.—Sir Hudson Lowe has left us in perfect tranquillity since Dr. Arnott has been admitted, although he comes every day to the apartments of the orderly officer, for the purpose of conferring with the physician. There is no change in the Emperor's health. Marchand is better. He is able to sit up during some hours of the day.

April 13th.—The Emperor has not passed so good a night, perhaps on account of the abundant perspiration. I changed the Emperor's linen seven times during the night, and each time both flannel and linen were perfectly steeped, and even the *madras* which he wore on his head. It is very difficult to effect these changes without making him impatient, for he will not allow

any light to be kept burning in his chamber, and only permits one wax candle to be left lighted in the next room; and by the faint light of this candle I have, not to give him, but to put on everything he requires, and even to tie the *madras* round his head.

This morning, on awaking, the Emperor said to me, "To-day I will dictate my last wishes to you: return at noon." When I returned at the appointed hour, he made me bolt the door, and bid me write. He dictated to me for two hours uninterruptedly, and then made me read the dictation to him, saying kindly, "Do you wish that I should leave you more?" —My emotion was too great to allow of my making any reply; he perceived this, and said, "Come! go and make a fair copy of what I have dictated; and the day after to-morrow, which will be my good day, we will read it over again; you shall dictate it to me, and I will write. Send Marchand to me, if he is up,—no!" added he, as I was leaving the room, "send in the Grand Marshal."

April 14th.—The Emperor did not forget his will to-day. I had not brought it: he sent me for it, read it over, and then dictated some changes regarding the execution of the will which were suggested by my observations.

April 15th.—The whole morning was devoted by the Emperor to writing his will. He was not fatigued by the exertion.

The will is as follows:—

"This day, April 15th, 1821, at Longwood, in the Island of St. Helena. This is my Testament, or Act of my last Will. NAPOLEON.

I.

"1. I die in the Apostolical Roman religion, in the bosom of which I was born, more than fifty years since.

"2. It is my wish that my ashes may repose on the banks of the Seine, in the midst of the French people, whom I have loved so well.

"3. I have always had reason to be pleased with my dearest wife, the Empress Maria Louisa, and retain for her, to my last moment, the most tender sentiments: I beseech her to watch, in order to preserve my son from the snares which yet environ his infancy.

"4. I recommend to my son, never to forget that he was born a French prince, and never to allow himself to become an instrument in the hands of the triumvirs who oppress the nations of Europe: he ought never to fight against France, or to injure her in any manner; he ought to adopt my motto—*Everything for the French people.*

"5. I die prematurely, assassinated by the English oligarchy and its deputy: the English nation will not be slow in avenging me.

"6. The two unfortunate results of the invasions of France, when she had still so many resources, are to be attributed to the treason of Marmont, Augereau, Talleyrand, and La Fayette. I forgive them: may the posterity of France forgive them, like me!

"7. I thank my good and most excellent mother; Cardinal Fesch; my brothers Joseph, Lucien, and Jerome; Pauline, Caroline, Julie, Hortense, Catharine, and Eugène, for the interest which they have continued to feel for me. I pardon Louis for the libel which he published in 1820; it is replete with false assertions and falsified documents.

"8. I disavow the 'Manuscript of St. Helena,' and other works, under the titles of 'Maxims,' 'Sayings,' &c. &c., which persons have been pleased to publish for the last six years. I * caused the Duc d'Enghien to be arrested and tried, because that step was essential to the safety, interest, and honour of the French people, when the Count d'Artois was maintaining, by his own confession, sixty assassins at Paris. Under similar circumstances, I would act in the same way.

II.

"1. I bequeath to my son the boxes, orders, and other articles, such as my plate, camp-bed, arms, saddles, spurs, chapel plate, books, linen, which I have been accustomed to wear and use, according to the list annexed (A). It is my wish that this slight bequest may be dear to him, as recalling the memory of a father of whom the universe will discourse to him.

"2. I bequeath to Lady Holland the antique cameo which Pope Pius VI. gave me at Tolentino.

"3. I bequeath to Count Montholon two millions

* This passage was interlined.

of francs, as a proof of my satisfaction with the filial attentions which he has paid to me during six years, and as an indemnity for the losses which his residence at St. Helena has occasioned him.

"4. I bequeath to Count Bertrand five hundred thousand francs.

"5. I bequeath to Marchand, my first valet-de-chambre, four hundred thousand francs. The services which he has rendered to me are those of a friend. It is my wish that he should marry the widow, sister, or daughter of an officer or soldier of my old guard.

"6. Item. To St. Denis, one hundred thousand francs.

"7. Item. To Noverras, one hundred thousand francs.

"8. Item. To Pierron, one hundred thousand francs.

"9. Item. To Archambaud, fifty thousand francs.

"10. Item. To Courson, twenty-five thousand francs.

"11. Item. To Chandelier, twenty-five thousand francs.

"12. Item. To the Abbé Vignali, one hundred thousand francs. It is my wish that he should build his house near the Ponte Nuovo di Rostino.

"13. Item. To Count Las Cases, one hundred thousand francs.

"14. Item. To Count Lavalette, one hundred thousand francs.

"15. Item. To Larrey, surgeon-in-chief, one hun-

dred thousand francs. He is the most virtuous man I have ever known.

"16. Item. To General Brayer, one hundred thousand francs.

"17. Item. To General Lefèvre Desnouettes, one hundred thousand francs.

"18. Item. To General Drouot, one hundred thousand francs.

"19. Item. To General Cambrone, one hundred thousand francs.

"20. Item. To the children of General Mouton Duvernet, one hundred thousand francs.

"21. Item. To the children of the brave Labédoyère, one hundred thousand francs.

"22. Item. To the children of General Girard, killed at Ligny, one hundred thousand francs.

"23. Item. To the children of General Chartrau, one hundred thousand francs.

"24. Item. To the children of the virtuous General Travost, one hundred thousand francs.

"25. Item. To General Lallemand, the elder, one hundred thousand francs.

"26. Item. To Count Real, one hundred thousand francs.

"27. Item. To Costa di Basilica, in Corsica, one hundred thousand francs.

"28. Item. To General Clausel, one hundred thousand francs.

"29. Item. To Baron Menneval, one hundred thousand francs.

"30. Item. To Arnault, the author of 'Marius,' one hundred thousand francs.

"31. Item. To Colonel Marbot, one hundred thousand francs. I engage him to continue to write in defence of the glory of the French armies, and to confound their calumniators and apostates.

"32. Item. To Baron Bignon, one hundred thousand francs. I engage him to write the history of French diplomacy from 1792 to 1815.

"33. Item. To Poggi di Talavo, one hundred thousand francs.

"34. Item. To Surgeon Emmery, one hundred thousand francs.

"35. These sums will be raised from the six millions which I deposited on leaving Paris in 1815; and from the interest, at the rate of five per cent., since July 1815. The account will be settled with the banker by Count Montholon, Count Bertrand, and Marchand.

"36. Whatever that deposit may produce beyond the sum of five millions six hundred thousand francs, which have been above disposed of, shall be distributed, as a gratuity, amongst the wounded at the battle of Waterloo, and amongst the officers and soldiers of the battalion of the Isle of Elba, according to a scale to be determined upon by Montholon, Bertrand, Drouot, Cambrone, and the Surgeon Larrey.

"37. These legacies, in case of death, shall be paid to the widows and children, and in default of such, shall revert to the bulk of my property.

III.

"1. My private domain being my property, of which no French law deprives me, that I am aware of, an account of it will be required from the Baron de la Bouillerie, the treasurer thereof: it ought to amount to more than 200,000,000 of francs—namely, 1. The portfolio containing the savings which I made during fourteen years out of my civil list, which amounted to more than 12,000,000 per annum, if my memory be good. 2. The produce of this portfolio. 3. The furniture of my palaces, such as it was in 1814, including the palaces of Rome, Florence, and Turin. All this furniture was purchased with monies accruing from the civil list. 4. The proceeds of my houses in the kingdom of Italy, such as money, plate, jewels, furniture, equipages; the accounts will be rendered by Prince Eugène, and the steward of the crown, Campagnoni.

"2. I bequeath my private domain, one-half to the surviving officers and soldiers of the French army who fought, from 1792 to 1815, for the glory and independence of the nation: the distribution shall be made in proportion to their appointments on active service. One-half to the towns and districts of Alsace, of Lorraine, of Franche Compté, of Burgundy, of the Isle of France, of Champagne, Forest, and Dauphiné, which may have suffered by either of the invasions: there shall be previously deducted from this sum, one million for the town of Brienne, and one million for that of Méri. I appoint the Counts Montholon and Bertrand, and Marchand, the executors of my will.

"This present will, wholly written with my own hand, is signed and sealed with my own arms.

(L. S.) "NAPOLEON."

April 16th.—Dr. Arnott was so earnest to-day in his request that the Emperor would consent to receive Antommarchi, that I conclude he is more uneasy than he is willing to show; and yet the Emperor's sufferings appear to me to be less acute, and he took, with an appearance of appetite, a few spoonfuls of rice-cream with almond milk.

April 17th.—The Emperor has passed a tolerably tranquil night, although the perspiration was very abundant. When I was about to leave him, at six o'clock in the morning, he said to me, "Send Antommarchi a draft of the letter which I require him to write to you, before I see him again; I will dictate it to you." Antommarchi has joyfully agreed to make, in a letter to me, the engagements exacted by the Emperor, and which consisted simply in a renewal of the oath taken by him on his arrival at Longwood, never to reveal anything which he might see or hear during his visits to the Emperor, and promising unreserved fidelity and devotion. This strict exaction of a renewal of these promises is accounted for by the fact that certain rumours among the household had accused Antommarchi of some indiscreet remarks or jests concerning the attention paid by the Emperor to his toilet, although so unwell.

Towards three o'clock, P. M., the Emperor sent for

me. When I entered the room, I found him sitting up, and the fire glancing in his eyes made me fear a fresh attack of fever. He perceived my uneasiness, and said kindly, "I am not worse, but my mind has been roused by talking with Bertrand about what my executors ought to say to my son, when they see him. Bertrand does not understand this: he and Lafayette have remained what they were in 1791, with their plans of an imaginary government, their English ideas, and their resolutions of the States-General; they only see in the revolution of 1789 a reform of abuses, and they refuse to acknowledge or perceive that it was in itself an entire social regeneration. In their eyes I have only established despotism, and acquired military glory. Bertrand has said to me this very day, that if, on the return from Varennes, the Convention had decreed the deposition of Louis XVI., and the elevation of the Duke of Orleans to the throne, that would have been the happiest day of his life—he who owes me everything, whom I made a high officer of the crown—what madness and folly! It was the influence of minds like his in the Chamber of the Hundred Days, which lost all. There is nothing more hurtful, in a political crisis, than honest men who have their consciences bewitched by false ideas: you will understand me; you have only to recal to your mind all that I have said and dictated to you concerning the ambition of my reign; but all this may, perhaps, be scattered and separated in your memory when the time comes for speaking of it; it is better,

therefore, that I should, in a few words, give you a summary of the counsels which I bequeath to my son; you will be thus more easily enabled to detail my ideas to him. Write—

" My son should not think of avenging my death; he should profit by it. Let the remembrance of what I have done never leave his mind; let him always be, like me, every inch a Frenchman. The aim of all his efforts should be, to reign by peace: if he should re-commence my wars out of pure love of imitation, and without any absolute necessity, he would be a mere ape. To do my work over again would be to suppose that I had done nothing; to complete it, on the contrary, would be to show the solidity of the basis, and explain the whole plan of an edifice which I had only roughly sketched; the same thing is not done twice in a century: I was obliged to daunt Europe by my arms; in the present day, the way is to convince her. I saved the revolution which was about to perish; I raised it from its ruins, and showed it to the world beaming with glory. I have implanted new ideas in France and in Europe; they cannot retrograde: let my son bring into blossom all that I have sown; let him develop all the elements of prosperity enclosed in the soil of France, and by these means he may yet be a great sovereign.

" The Bourbons will not maintain their position after my death; a re-action in my favour will take place everywhere, even in England; this will be a fine inheritance for my son. It is possible that the

English, in order to efface the remembrance of their persecutions, will favour my son's return to France; but in order to live in a good understanding with England, it is necessary, at any cost, to favour her commercial interests: this necessity leads to one of these two consequences—war with England, or a sharing of the commerce of the world with her. This second condition is the only one possible in the present day; the exterior question will long take precedence in France of the interior. I bequeath to my son sufficient strength and sympathy to enable him to continue my work with the single aid of an elevated and conciliatory diplomacy. His position at Vienna is deplorable. Will Austria set him at liberty unconditionally? But after all, Francis I. was once in a more critical position, and yet his French nationality was nothing impaired by it. Let not my son ever mount the throne by the aid of foreign influence; his aim should not be to fulfil a desire to reign, but to deserve the approbation of posterity. Let him cherish an intimacy with my family, whenever it shall be in his power. My mother is a woman of the old school; Joseph and Eugène are able to give him good counsel; Hortense and Catherine are superior women. If he remains in exile, let him marry one of my nieces. If France recals him, let him seek the hand of a princess of Russia: this court is the only one where family ties rule policy. The alliance which he may contract should tend to increase the exterior influence of France, and not to introduce a foreign influence

into its counsels. The French nation, when it is not taken the wrong way, is more easily governed than any other: its prompt and easy comprehension is unequalled; it immediately discerns who labours for, and who against it; but then it is necessary always to speak to its senses, otherwise its uneasy spirit gnaws, it ferments and explodes.

" My son will arrive after a time of civil troubles; he has but one party to fear—that of the Duke of Orleans: this party has been germinating for a long time. On this point, repeat to him what Bertrand said to me: let him despise all parties, and only see the mass of the people; excepting those who have betrayed their country, he ought to forget the previous conduct of all men, and reward talent, merit, and services, wherever he finds them. Chateaubriand, notwithstanding his libel, is a good Frenchman.

" France is the country where the chiefs of parties have the least influence; to rest for support on them is to build on sand. Great things can only be done in France by having the support of the mass of the people; and, besides, a government should always seek for support where it is really to be found. There are moral laws as inflexible and imperious as the physical ones. The Bourbons can only rely for support on the nobles and the priests, whatever may be the constitution which they are made to adopt; the water will descend again to its level, in spite of the machine which has raised it for a moment. I, on the contrary, relied on the whole mass of the people without

exception. I set the example of a government which favoured the interests of all. I did not govern by the help of, or solely for, either the nobles, the priests, the citizens, or the tradesmen; I governed for the whole community, for the whole family of the French nation. To divide the interests of a nation is to injure them all, and engender civil war. A thing indivisible by nature cannot be divided; it can only be mutilated. I attach no importance to the constitution, of the principal bases of which I have made a draft.* Good to-day, it may be bad to-morrow; and, besides, nothing should be definitively settled on this point without the formal consent of the nation; but its fundamental principle should be the universality of votes.

"My nobility will afford no support to my son; I required more than one generation to succeed in making them assume my colour, and preserve by tradition the sacred deposit of my moral conquests. From the year 1815, all the grandees openly espoused the opposite party. I felt no reliance either on my marshals or my nobility, not even on my colonels; but the whole mass of the people and the whole army, up to the grade of captain, were on my side. I was not deceived in feeling this confidence; they owe much to me: I was their true representative. My dictatorship was indispensable; and the proof of this is, that they always offered me more power than I desired.

* This will be found in the fourth volume.

In the present day, there is nothing possible in France but what is necessary. It will not be the same with my son: his power will be disputed; he must anticipate every desire for liberty. It is, besides, easier, in ordinary times, to reign with the help of the Chambers than alone: the assemblies take a great part of your responsibility, and nothing is more easy than always to have the majority on your side; but care must be taken not to demoralize the country. The influence of the government in France is immense; and if it understands the way, it has no need of employing corruption in order to find support on all sides. The aim of a sovereign is not only to reign, but to diffuse instruction, morality, and well-being; and any thing false is but a bad aid.

"In my youth, I, too, entertained some illusions; but I soon recovered from them. The great orators who rule the assemblies by the brilliancy of their eloquence are in general men of the most mediocre political talents: they should not be opposed in their own way; for they have always more noisy words at command than you. Their eloquence should be opposed by a serious and logical argument; their strength lies in vagueness; they should be brought back to the reality of facts; practical arguments destroy them. In the council, there were men possessed of much more eloquence than I was: I always defeated them by this simple argument —*two and two make four.* France possesses very clever practical men; the only thing necessary is to

find them, and to give them the means of reaching the proper station: such a one is at the plough, who ought to be in the council; and such another is minister, who ought to be at the plough. Let not my son be astonished to hear men, the most reasonable to all appearance, propose to him the most absurd plans. From the agrarian law to the despotism of the Grand Turk, every system finds an apologist in France; let him listen to them all, let him take everything at its just value, and surround himself by all the real capacity of the country. The French people are influenced by two powerful passions, which seem opposed, but which, nevertheless, are derived from one and the same feeling—viz., love of liberty, and love of distinction. A government can only satisfy these two wants by the most exact justice. The law and action of the government must be equal towards all; honours and rewards must be bestowed on the men who seem in the eyes of all to be the most worthy of them. Merit may be pardoned, but not intrigue. The Order of the Legion of Honour has been an immense and powerful incitement to virtue, talent, and courage; if ill employed, it would become a great evil, by alienating the whole army, if the spirit of court intrigue and coterie presided at its nominations or in its administration.

"My son will be obliged to allow the liberty of the press: this is a necessity in the present day. In order to govern, it is not necessary to pursue a more or less

perfect theory, but to build with the materials which are under one's hand; to submit to necessities, and profit by them. The liberty of the press ought to become, in the hands of the government, a powerful auxiliary in diffusing, through all the most distant corners of the empire, sound doctrines and good principles. To leave it to itself would be to fall asleep on the brink of a danger. On the conclusion of a general peace, I would have instituted a Directory of the Press, composed of the ablest men of the country, and I would have diffused, even to the most distant hamlet, my ideas and my intentions. In the present day, it is impossible to remain, as one might have done three hundred years ago, a quiet spectator of the transformations of society; now, one must, under pain of death, either direct or hinder everything.

"My son ought to be a man of new ideas, and of the cause which I have made triumphant everywhere. He ought to establish institutions which may efface all traces of the feudal law, secure the dignity of man, and develop those germs of prosperity which have been budding for centuries. He should propagate, in all those countries now uncivilized and barbarous, the benefits of Christianity and civilization. Such should be the aim of all my son's thoughts; such is the cause for which I die a martyr to the hatred of the oligarchs, of which I am the object. Let him consider the holiness of my cause. Look at the regicides! They were formerly in the councils of a Bourbon; tomorrow they will return to their country—and I

and mine expiate in tortures the blessings which I desired to bestow on nations. My enemies are the enemies of humanity; they desire to fetter the people, whom they regard like a flock of sheep; they endeavour to oppress France, and to make the stream reascend towards its source. Let them take care that it does not burst its bounds! With my son, all opposite interests may live in peace; new ideas be diffused and gather strength, without any violent shock or the sacrifice of any victims, and humanity be spared dreadful misfortunes. But if the blind hatred of kings still pursues my blood after my death, I shall then be avenged, but cruelly avenged. Civilization will suffer in every way, if nations burst their bounds, and rivers of blood will be shed throughout the whole of Europe; the light of science and knowledge will be extinguished amid civil and foreign warfare; more than three hundred years of troubles will be required in order to destroy in Europe that royal authority which has but for a day represented the interests of all classes of men, but which struggled for several centuries before it could throw off the restraints of the middle ages. If, on the other hand, the North advances against civilization, the struggle will be of shorter duration, but the blows more fatal; the well-being of nations, all the results which it has taken so many years to obtain, will be destroyed, and none can foresee the disastrous consequences. The accession of my son is for the interest of nations, as well as of kings. Beyond the circle of ideas and principles for which we have fought, and

which I have carried triumphantly through all difficulties, I see nought but slavery and confusion for France and for the whole of Europe.

"You will publish all that I have dictated or written, and you will engage my son to read and reflect upon it. You will tell him to protect all those who have served me well, and their number is large. My poor soldiers, so magnanimous, so devoted, are now perhaps in want of bread! What courage, what good sense is there in this French people! What buried riches, which will perhaps never again see the light of day! Europe is progressing towards an inevitable transformation: to endeavour to retard this progress, would be but to lose strength by a useless struggle; to favour it, is to strengthen the hopes and wishes of all.

"There are desires of nationality which must be satisfied sooner or later, and it is towards this end that continual progress should be made. My son's position will not be exempt from immense difficulties; let him do by general consent what I was compelled by circumstances to effect by force of arms. When I was victorious over Russia, in 1812, the problem of a peace of a hundred years' duration was solved. I cut the Gordian knot of nations; in the present day it must be untied. The remembrance of the thrones which I raised up, when it was for the interest of my general policy so to do, should be effaced. In the year 1815, I exacted from my brothers that they should forget their royalty, and only take the title

of French princes. My son should follow this example; an opposite course would excite just alarm. It is no longer in the North that great questions will be resolved, but in the Mediterranean: there, there is enough to content all the ambition of the different powers, and the happiness of civilized nations may be purchased with fragments of barbarous lands. Let the kings listen to reason; Europe will no longer afford matter for maintaining international hatreds. Prejudices are dissipated and intermingled; routes of commerce are becoming multipled; it is no longer possible for one nation to monopolize it. As a means by which my son may see whether his administration be good, or the contrary—whether his laws are in accordance with the manners of the country,—let him have an annual and particular report presented to him of the number of condemnations pronounced by the tribunals. If crimes and delinquencies increase in number, it is a proof that misery is on the increase, and that society is ill governed: their diminution, on the other hand, is a proof of the contrary.

"Religious ideas have more influence than certain narrow-minded philosophers are willing to believe: they are capable of rendering great services to humanity. By standing well with the Pope, an influence is still maintained over the consciences of a hundred millions of men. Pius VII. will be always well disposed towards my son: he is a tolerant and enlightened old man. Fatal circumstances embroiled our cabinets; I regret this deeply. Fesch did not understand me; he

upheld the party of the *ultramontanes*, the enemies of true religion in France. If you are permitted to return to France, you will still find many who have remained faithful to my memory. The best monument which they could raise to me would be to make a collection of all the ideas which I expressed in the council of state, for the administration of the empire; to collect all my instructions to my ministers; and to make a list of the works which I undertook, and of all the monuments which I raised in France and Italy. Maret, Daru, Mollien, Merlin, and Cambacérès may contribute to this work; it will be the completion of what I charge Bignon to write on my foreign policy and the general heads which I have indicated to you on my wars. In what I have said in the council of state, a distinction must be made between the measures, good only for the moment, and those whose application is eternally true.

"Let my son often read and reflect on history; this is the only true philosophy. Let him read and meditate on the wars of the greatest captains; this is the only means of rightly learning the science of war.

"But all that you say to him, or all that he learns, will be of little use to him, if he has not in the depth of his heart that sacred fire and love of good which alone can effect great things.

"I will hope, however, that he will be worthy of his destiny."

April 18th.—There is nothing new in the progress

of the disease. Antommarchi, who accompanied Dr. Arnott in his morning visit, assured us that he had hopes; but yet, next day, Drs. Short and Michels came to a consultation with Drs. Arnott and Antommarchi. During the night of the 20th, towards one o'clock, the Emperor expressed a desire to converse with the Abbé Vignali, and desired me to send for him, adding, "Leave us alone now, but return as soon as he shall have left me. Manage so that no one may know that I have seen him to-night." I obeyed. The Abbé remained an hour with the Emperor. When I returned, I found the Emperor very calm; his voice testified no emotion; he conversed on religious subjects for a few moments, then asked me for his potion, and fell asleep. He was still asleep when Marchand came, at six o'clock, to relieve me.

The Emperor has been for some days complaining of the want of air in his small chamber, and has profited by an interval of ease to have himself transported into the next room, which has hitherto served him as a cabinet.

April 21st.—Another consultation between the English physicians, but private.

April 22nd.—The nightly perspirations continue to be very abundant: on this night I have changed the Emperor's linen seven times. Altogether, however, the Emperor is more tranquil; the internal pain is less; but his taste is becoming fantastic, and his emaciation extreme.

April 24th.—The Emperor has again spoken to me of his will. He thinks of adding to it, by a codicil, several arrangements, with which he will charge the Empress and Prince Eugène: his imagination is unceasingly employed in seeking to find resources from which to gratify his liberality. Each day brings to his mind the remembrance of some other old servant whom he would wish to remunerate. I must mention here, that he has fallen into a great error in reckoning among the claims to be made by his executors, the value of the draft of the Isle of Elba, which he believed to have remained, in 1815, in the portfolio of his treasurer, Baron Peyrusse; for General Bertrand has declared that at that time these drafts had been protested and pronounced worthless, through the effect of political events; and the declaration made by the Grand Marshal, during the Hundred Days, of the trustworthiness of this treasurer, attests their perfect regularity. It is with pleasure that I render this testimony to the fidelity and honour of Monsieur Peyrusse.

April 25th.—The whole morning has been employed by the Emperor in writing his codicils; he has dated the first two, April 16th; the others bear date, April 24th. He followed the same system as in making his will: he first dictated them to me, and I afterwards dictated them to him, but as this work fatigued him very much, he sent for Marchand, to whom he dictated the following official instructions to his executors, which he signed after hearing them read.

"INSTRUCTIONS TO MY EXECUTORS.

"April 26th, 1821, Longwood.

"1. My legacies are to be paid in their full amount.

"2. The 5,280,000 francs, which I placed in the hands of the banker Lafitte, ought to produce, on the 1st of January, 1822, the interest being reckoned at five per cent., which I agreed upon with him, about seven millions. In case of difficulty, the account must be settled with the strictness of a clerk settling with his master, since superior powers have prevented me from writing and disposing of my funds: I can permit no modification on this point.

"3. The following are the only sums which I am aware that Monsieur Lafitte has paid on my account. First, 100,000 francs to Count Las Cases; second, 20,000 francs to General Lallemand the elder; third, 72,000 francs to Balcombe, on a letter of credit from Count Bertrand; fourth, 3,000 francs to Gilly, my valet-de-chambre; fifth, an authorization, sent through Prince Eugène, to furnish a monthly sum of 12,000 francs to London since 1817, to be employed for my use. (This sum was not furnished, with the exception of a part to Mr. Parker; I am, therefore, indebted for considerable sums to Count Bertrand: all these must be, in the first place, repaid to him.) Hence it results that, on the regulation of these accounts, the sum which I left in his hands ought to amount, capital and interest, to about 6,200,000 francs, disposable on the 1st of January, 1822.

"4. The question relative to my private domain is one of principal importance; it will be susceptible of much discussion: but the restitution of the money left in the hands of Peyrusse, which, as I believe, has reverted to the crown; the liquidation of my civil list of Italy, which should produce several millions; the value of the furniture annexed to the crown, and which belonged to me before the civil list, at the time of my Consulate, and even when I was General; (in the former class is included all the furniture of St. Cloud, and a part of that of the Tuileries; in the second, a great part of the furniture of Rambouillet;) the presents received by me, either from other sovereigns or from the city of Paris, such as the beautiful articles of malachite from Russia, the lustres, crystals, &c. &c., the gold service presented to me by the city of Paris—all these things are a separate question: these different articles should produce several millions.

"5. With regard to the furniture of the crown, which belongs to me, as having been bought with the proceeds of the civil list, it will be said, that by a *senatus consultum*, the heirs of the Emperor were declared only to be capable of inheriting any part of it in case its value exceeded 30,000,000 francs; but this was for the future: it was a family regulation, and it would be an act of injustice to regard this furniture as not being my property.

"6. Laaken was purchased from the proceeds of the extraordinary domain, but its furniture was paid

for with the proceeds of the private domain. This latter, therefore, amounts to a sum of 800,000 francs, which is to be claimed from the King of the Netherlands.

"7. When the King of Sardinia and the Grand Duke of Tuscany were driven from their dominions, in 1799, they took with them their plate, jewels, and other precious effects; their private domains were even reserved for them. By what right, then, did these sovereigns presume to retain possession of my plate and furniture which I sent from Paris, and which were purchased with the proceeds of my civil list?

"8. The Pope took away his plate and precious effects from Rome. The plate and furniture which I sent to Rome, and which were paid for from the proceeds of my civil list, belong of right to me.

"9. I had, in the Isle of Elba, a little farm called Saint Martin, estimated at 200,000 francs, with furniture, carriages, &c.; this was purchased with money belonging to the Princess Pauline: if it has been refunded to her, I am satisfied; but if this has not been done, my executors shall take measures to effect its repayment to the Princess Pauline, if she be still living; if not, it must revert to the mass of my property.

"10. I had at Venice 5,000,000 francs' worth of quicksilver, of which I believe a great portion to have been pilfered by the Austrians: it must be reclaimed, and its restitution effected.

"11. There are reports in circulation concerning

a will of the Patriarch of Venice: they must be inquired into.

"12. I left at Malmaison, independently of all my books, 2,000,000 francs, in gold and jewels, in a concealed place. I never made a special donation of it to the Empress Josephine. I desire that this sum may be reclaimed by my executors, but only in case this is necessary to the completion of my legacies.

"13. I gave the Empress Maria Louisa 2,000,000 francs in gold, at Orleans: she is, therefore, in my debt for this sum; but I desire that it may not be reclaimed, except it shall be found necessary for the completion of my legacies.

"14. I have, in the hands of Denon and D'Albe, a great number of plans, which belong to me; because, for several years I have paid 10,000 or 12,000 francs per month for the making and completion of these plans and drawings. An account must be rendered of them to my executors, who will afterwards take possession of them for my son.

"15. I desire that my executors may make a collection of engravings, pictures, books, and medals, which may give my son just ideas, and destroy those false ones which foreign policy may, perhaps, have desired to inculcate; that he may, in fine, be enabled to see things as they really were. In publishing my campaigns of Italy and Egypt, and such other of my manuscripts as may be published, they shall be dedicated to my son, as well as the letters addressed to me by other sovereigns, if they are to be found; they

should be procurable in the archives; and this ought not to be difficult, since national vanity would be greatly a gainer by their publication.

" 16. If a collection of views of my head-quarters can be found, which was at Fontainebleau, as well as some views of my palaces in France and Italy, they shall be kept for my son.

" 17. Constant robbed me of a great many things at Fontainebleau. I believe that many things may be got from him and Roustan, which would be precious to my son, and to them have only a metallic value.

" 18. There were in my small apartments at the top of the palace at the Tuileries, a great number of chairs worked by Josephine and Maria Louisa: it may be agreeable to my son to have them.

" 19. Whenever my executors shall be enabled to see my son, they shall earnestly set his opinions right on facts and things, and put him in the right way.

" 20. Whenever my executors shall be enabled to see the Empress, which I desire may be separately, and as soon as prudence will permit, they shall do the same.

" 21. Though I by no means desire that my mother, if she be yet alive, should give my son advantages (in her will), since I believe him to be richer than her other children, I should, nevertheless, wish that she should distinguish him by some precious legacy, such as portraits of my mother and father, or some trinkets, which he may be able to say he has received from his grand-parents.

" 22. As soon as my son shall have attained years

of discretion, I should wish my mother, my brothers, and sisters, to write to him, and unite themselves to him in affection; any obstacle will be powerless, since my son may have his own acquaintances.

" 23. It would give me pleasure that those of my officers or domestics who shall be able so to do should attach themselves to the service of my son—as the children of Bertrand, or those of Montholon.

" 24. My executors shall engage my son to reassume his name of Napoleon, as soon as he shall have attained to years of discretion, and shall be able conveniently so to do.

" 25. Many things should be found in the hands of Denon, D'Albe, Fain, Menneval, and Bourrienne, which will be highly interesting to my son.

" 26. In publishing the memoirs on Italy, use should be made of the plans in D'Albe's possession. I caused all the plans of battle to be drawn; it even seems that he has printed them. At the Depôt of War may be procured plans of several battles which I made. I suspect that Jomini was aware of this.

" 27. My executors shall write to the King of England, when they proceed to that country, insisting that my remains shall be transported to France; and to the French Government, they shall write in the same manner.

" 28. If Las Cases fulfils the functions of treasurer, and my executors judge it necessary to have a secretary, should that office suit Drouot, he may be nominated.

" 29. I have a young cousin at Ajaccio, who has, I believe, landed property to the amount of 300,000 francs; her name is Pallavicini: if she is not yet married, and would suit Drouot, her mother, if informed that such is my desire, will give her to him without difficulty.

" 30. I desire that my family should be informed of my wish that my nephews and nieces shall marry either among themselves, in the Roman States, in the Swiss Republics, or in the United States of America. I disapprove of a marriage with a Swede, and, unless the good fortune of France should return, desire that my family should have as little as possible to do with kingly courts.

" 31. In the hands of Apiani, a painter at Milan, may be found many things which will be important to my son: the remembrance of me will be the glory of his life; let my executors collect, obtain possession of, or facilitate his acquisition of everything which may bring such an *entourage* around him.

" 32. Should good fortune again return, and my son ascend the throne, it is the duty of my executors to make him understand all that I owe to my old officers and soldiers and to my faithful adherents.

" 33. My executors shall also, by letter, or personally when possible, express to the Empress Maria Louisa the esteem and sentiments which I have entertained for her, and constantly recommend to her charge my son, whose only resources must depend upon her.

" 34. If the Deputy Ramolino is at Paris, he may be consulted on the condition of my family and the means of corresponding with them.

" 35. I desire that my executors may procure the best likenesses of me, in different costumes, and may send them to my son as soon as it shall be in their power.

" 36. My nurse at Ajaccio has children and grandchildren, whom the great benefits I have bestowed on her have put her in a position to bring up well. I suppose she is dead; and, besides, presume her to be very rich: if, however, it happens, from a caprice of fortune, that all that I have done for her has not turned out well, my executors shall not leave her in want.

" 37. I should not be displeased that the little Leo should enter the magistracy, if such should be his taste. I should wish Alexander Waleska to be drawn into the service of France, into the army.

(Signed) " NAPOLEON."

CHAPTER VII.

THE EMPEROR'S DEATH.—CONCLUSION.

April 26th.—The Emperor was pretty calm during the night, until about four in the morning, when he said to me, with extraordinary emotion: "I have just seen my good Josephine, but she would not embrace me; she disappeared at the moment when I was about to take her in my arms. She was seated there; it seemed to me that I had seen her yesterday evening: she is not changed; still the same—full of devotion to me. She told me that we were about to see each other again, never more to part; she assured me that —did you see her?" I took great care not to say anything which might increase the feverish excitement, too plainly evident to me. I gave him his potion and changed his linen, and he fell asleep; but on awaking, he again spoke to me of the Empress Josephine, and I

should only have uselessly irritated him, by telling him that it was only a dream.

The reading of an English journal awakened in the Emperor's mind one of those terrible impressions against which his reason was powerless, but which always have their origin in a noble feeling. Unfortunately, Bertrand, in translating quickly, did not perceive that the article he was translating was an infamous libel against Caulaincourt and Savary, and when he would have stopped, the Emperor made him proceed; then interrupting him suddenly, he cried—"This is shameful!" He then sent for me, ordered me to bring him his will, opened it, and interlined the following words without saying a word to us:—"I caused the Duc d'Enghien to be arrested and tried, because that step was essential to the safety, interest, and honour of the French people, when the Count d'Artois was maintaining, by his own confession, sixty assassins at Paris. Under similar circumstances, I would act in the same way." Having written these few lines, he gave me back the will, and dismissed us by a sign of the hand.

April 27th.—The night passed painfully; the feverish agitation was not relieved until about four o'clock, by abundant perspiration, which obliged me to change the Emperor's linen several times; he had scarcely two hours' sleep. As soon as Marchand came, at six o'clock, to relieve me, the Emperor occupied him in closing and sealing with ribbons his will and codicils; seeming as if he were in haste to deprive himself of

the power of obeying the influence of the reflection which would have counselled him to efface the words interlined on the preceding evening.

His will being sealed, he caused an inventory of his caskets to be made: the most of the morning was passed in this way. He also put into envelopes six millions' worth of bills of exchange to his order; he himself wrote and signed all the superscriptions on the envelopes; he wrote on a piece of pasteboard while I held the ink-bottle. This work fatigued him very much; attacks of purulent vomitings several times interrupted him.

At nine o'clock in the evening he sent for the Grand Marshal and the Abbé Vignali, and made Bertrand draw up a legal *proces-verbal*, attesting the existence of the papers which Marchand and I had sealed; he desired that we should all put our seals and signatures to it. The *proces-verbal* is as follows:—

"PROCES-VERBAL, ATTESTING THE EXISTENCE OF THE WILL AND CODICILS OF THE EMPEROR, ON THE 27TH OF APRIL, 1821.

"This day, April the twenty-seventh, one thousand eight hundred and twenty-one, We, Count Bertrand, Grand Marshal to the Emperor Napoleon, have, in execution of his orders, caused to be shown to us his various wills, codicils, and instructions, of which Mons. Marchand is the depositary, to the number of nine papers or separate packets, all folded in nearly the same form, but of various thickness, turned down

at one of the four corners; three of them connected together by a red ribbon, the six others by a green one; the said papers or packets being all signed on the outside by the Emperor's hand, and, moreover, sealed with his arms on each side of the envelope; the said papers being also sealed with the arms and signed by the hand of—1. Count Bertrand; 2. Count Montholon; 3. Mons. Marchand—the three persons named by him as his executors; and 4. The Abbé Vignali.

"After having caused to be shown to us three caskets of mahogany, locked, closed with green ribbon, and sealed with the imperial arms, and with those of the four persons above mentioned,—viz., Count Bertrand, Count Montholon, Mons. Marchand, and Mons. l'Abbé Vignali, we have read some notes written by the Emperor Napoleon's own hand, and have annexed them as follows to this document.

"On a paper without any number, is written:

"'This is my will, written entirely by my own hand.

"(Signed) 'NAPOLEON.'

"On a paper No. 1, is written:

"'This is a codicil to my will, written entirely by my own hand.

"(Signed) 'NAPOLEON.'

"On a paper No. 2, is written:

"'This is a second codicil to my will, written entirely by my own hand.

"(Signed) 'NAPOLEON.'

"On a paper without any number, is written:

"'This is my third codicil to my will, written entirely by my own hand, signed, and sealed with my arms, which shall be opened on the same day as, and immediately after, my will is opened.

"(Signed) 'NAPOLEON.'

"On a paper without any number, is written:

"'This is my fourth codicil, forming a continuation to my will; it shall be opened on the same day as my will.

"(Signed) 'NAPOLEON.'

"On a paper No. 5, is written:

"'This is my codicil or act of my last will, the execution of which I recommend to my dearly beloved wife, the Empress Maria Louisa.

"(Signed) 'NAPOLEON.'

"On a paper No. 6, is written:

"'This is my codicil or act of my last will, the execution of which I recommend to my son, Eugène Napoleon; it is entirely written by my own hand.

"(Signed) 'NAPOLEON.'

"On a paper without any number, is written:

"'This is my seventh codicil or act of my last will, which shall remain secret, and only be communicated to my executors.

"(Signed) 'NAPOLEON.'

"On a paper without any number, is written:

"'This is an instruction to Montholon, Bertrand,

and Marchand, my executors. I have made a will and seven codicils, of which Marchand is the depositary.

"(Signed) 'NAPOLEON.'

"In fulfilment of the Emperor Napoleon's orders, We, Count Bertrand, his Grand Marshal, have drawn up the present document, to serve as an inventory and *proces-verbal.*

"Done in the Emperor Napoleon's bed-chamber, at Longwood, on the day and in the year above-named.

(Signed) COUNT BERTRAND."

While Marchand was making an inventory of the contents of the Emperor's caskets, the Emperor took from one of them a diamond necklace, and gave it to him, saying—"Take this; I am ignorant in what state my affairs may be in Europe; the good Hortense gave me this before she left Malmaison, thinking that I might have need of it. I believe it to be worth two hundred thousand francs; hide it about your person. When you reach France, it will enable you to await the provision which I make for you in my will. Marry honourably; make your choice among the daughters of the officers or soldiers of my old guard: there are many of these brave men who are happy; a better fate was reserved for them, had it not been for the reverse of fortune experienced by France. Posterity will acknowledge all that I would have done for them, had circumstances been different."

The Emperor expressed a wish to change his room,

"he had not enough air," he said; and he was therefore carried into the saloon.

He talked a great deal to-day, and finding himself better, as he said, he wished to write an eighth codicil, but was unable to finish it, and dictated several of the articles to me. He then dictated to Marchand two letters, which he signed after reading them. They are as follows:—

"MONSIEUR LAFITTE,—I remitted to you, in 1815, at the moment of my departure from Paris, a sum of nearly six millions, for which you gave me a receipt in duplicate. I have cancelled one of the receipts, and I charge Count Montholon to present you with the other, in order that you may pay to him, after my death, the said sum, with interest at the rate of five per cent. from the 1st of July, 1815, deducting the payments which you have been instructed to make by virtue of my orders.

"It is my wish that the settlement of your account may be agreed upon between you, Count Montholon, Count Bertrand, and the Sieur Marchand; and this settlement being made, I give you, by these presents, a complete and absolute discharge from the said sum.

"I also, at that time, placed in your hands a box, containing my cabinet of medals. I beg you will give it to Count Montholon.

"This letter having no other object, I pray God, Monsieur Lafitte, to have you in His holy keeping!

"NAPOLEON.

"Longwood, Island of St. Helena,
the 25th of April, 1821."

"MONSIEUR LE BARON LA BOUILLERIE, Treasurer of my private domain,—I beg you to deliver the account and the balance, after my death, to Count Montholon, whom I have charged with the execution of my will.

"This letter having no other object, I pray God, Monsieur le Baron la Bouillerie, to have you in His holy keeping!

"NAPOLEON.

"Longwood, Island of St. Helena,
the 25th of April, 1821."

The Emperor also dictated to me a letter, which I was to write to Sir Hudson Lowe to announce his death. It is as follows:—

"MONSIEUR LE GOUVERNEUR,—The Emperor Napoleon breathed his last on the ———, after a long and painful illness. I have the honour to communicate this intelligence to you.

"The Emperor has authorized me to communicate to you, if such be your desire, his last wishes. I beg you to inform me what are the arrangements prescribed by your government for the transportation of his remains to France, as well as those relating to the persons of his suite.

"I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

"COUNT MONTHOLON."

The idea of this letter of itself furnishes a proof of the energetic character of the Emperor. That he should occupy himself with such details, when his last hours of agony were already being counted!

April 29th.—The night was bad, the fever being, to judge from the Emperor's agitation and the sound of his voice, more decided. Twice I wished to summon Antommarchi; but when I urged this, the Emperor testified so much displeasure that I could venture no further.

At four o'clock in the morning, he made me bring a table to his bedside, and occupied himself for two hours in dictating two projects to me: one on the destination of Versailles; the other, on the organization of the national guard, for the defence of the kingdom. He made me entitle this dictation—*Première Reverie.* Astonishment has often been felt at the great faculties of the Emperor, which permitted him on the eve of or on the day after a battle, which either was about to decide or had decided the fate of a throne, to sign decrees, and occupy himself with matters purely administrative; but these facts are far inferior to the one which we here attest: but five days later, all that remained of this sublime genius was a corpse; and yet his thoughts were still constantly directed towards the happiness and future prospects of France!

April 30th.—Antommarchi will henceforth watch in the dining-room; for it is no longer possible to deceive ourselves with regard to the danger which menaces the Emperor. All hope is lost: Dr. Arnott has told us so; and yet the Emperor preserves all his faculties of mind—all his will. Bertrand, who sees that I am exhausted with fatigue, once more pro-

posed to him, this morning, to watch by him, in my stead; but the Emperor replied: "*I have already told you that Montholon suffices me; it is your fault if I have become so accustomed to his services, which are those of a son; and now I will have no other's.* IT IS HE WHO SHALL RECEIVE MY LAST SIGH; THIS SHALL BE THE REWARD OF HIS SERVICES. *Say no more on the subject.*"

May 1st.—This morning, when I was quitting the Emperor, after having written from his dictation for more than two hours, he told me to send Vignali to him. An hour afterwards, the chapel was prepared, and the almoner had commenced the forty hours' prayers.

May 2nd.—The Emperor passed a bad day as well as a bad night. In the evening, towards eight o'clock, the Emperor tried to dictate to Marchand some testamentary arrangements in favour of his son and the Princess Pauline; but neither his words nor thoughts responded to the impressions of his heart. The English medical men, Short, Mitchell, and Arnott, held a long conference, and afterwards went to Antommarchi's apartment.

May 3rd.—In the night, towards two o'clock, the Emperor sat up, by a convulsive movement, and endeavoured to get out of bed. It was with great difficulty that I got him to lie down again. "He was burning," he said, and yet his skin was almost moist. He was very thirsty all night, and frequently asked me for orangeade.

The day has passed pretty calmly, although the fever has not diminished. Towards five o'clock, some unconnected words proved to us that the Emperor's mind was beginning to be confused. He had sent for Pierron, his maître d' hôtel, and was trying to give him orders himself as to the way to make the orangeade; but he kept constantly repeating the word "orange," without finishing the phrase.

May 4th.—The night was tranquil. This morning, the physicians administered a strong dose of calomel: they say that if they had been able to obtain any effect from it sooner, they should have had some hope. The Emperor's weakness this evening is extreme.

May 5th.—The night was very bad: towards two o'clock delirium became evident, and was accompanied by nervous contractions. Twice I thought I distinguished the unconnected words, *France—armée, tête d'armée—Josephine;* at the same moment, the Emperor threw himself out of his bed by a convulsive movement, against which I struggled in vain; his strength was so great, that he threw me down, bringing me with him on the carpet: he held me so tightly that I could not cry out for help. Happily, Archambaud, who was watching in the next room, heard some noise, and hastened to assist me to replace the Emperor in bed. A few minutes afterwards, the Grand Marshal and Dr. Antommarchi, who had thrown themselves on a sofa in the library, also entered; but the Emperor had already lain down again, and was calm.

He seemed to be sleeping tranquilly when I left him, at six o'clock in the morning, but I had scarcely had time to throw myself on my bed, when some one came in haste to fetch me; the rattling in the throat—the forerunner of death—was beginning!

When I approached the bed, the Emperor looked at me, and made me a sign to give him something to drink; but already his power of swallowing was gone, and it was only by means of a sponge wetted with *eau sucrée*, that I was enabled to allay his thirst, by constantly pressing the sponge to his lips. From this moment, until half-past five in the evening, when he breathed his last, he remained motionless, lying on his back, with his right hand out of the bed, and his eyes fixed, seemingly absorbed in deep meditation, and without any appearance of suffering; his lips were slightly contracted, and his whole face expressed pleasant and gentle impressions. Whenever Antommarchi attempted to relieve me, in moistening his lips with the sponge, he repulsed him with his hand, and turned his eyes upon me.

As the sun was setting, the Emperor quitted this earthly life, and I lost more than a father.

I piously fulfilled the duty which his kindness confided to me—I closed his eyes!

Immediately after his death, I wrote the letter which he had dictated to me on the 28th of April, announcing his death, and despatched it to Sir Hudson Lowe, and at the same time I sent to inform Dr. Arnott and the orderly officer of the event: they came

in to verify the fact; and both testified their respect and grief, while obeying this sad duty. The head surgeon of the garrison and the head surgeon of the squadron then entered, and coldly laid their hands on the Emperor's heart. They only saw in this act the fulfilment of a formality—of a duty; and it did not even seem to occur to their minds that the heart which had just ceased to beat was that of one of those extraordinary and privileged men who appear once in a century, as manifestations of the great powers of the human mind. At seven o'clock in the evening, at the Grand Marshal's request, M. Marchand and I went to him, for the purpose of drawing up the following *proces-verbal* of the death of the Emperor, and of the delivery made to me by Monsieur Marchand of the testamentary acts, as well as of the envelopes containing the receipts for the deposits of money. I was obliged to stop, however, before their completion, for I felt exhausted with grief, even more than with fatigue.

So many cruel emotions were too strong for the female part of the family and for the children. Napoleon Bertrand fell down senseless, while touching with his lips the ice-cold hand of the Emperor.

PROCES-VERBAL OF THE EMPEROR'S DECEASE.

" In default of the officers of the civil staff of the imperial family, designated by a *senatus consultum*, relating to the present point, we, Count Bertrand, Grand Marshal to the Emperor, and Count Montho-

lon, aide-de-camp to the Emperor Napoleon, both acting as civil officers of his household, have drawn up the present document, for the purpose of attesting, that to-day, the fifth of May, one thousand eight hundred and twenty-one, at forty-nine minutes past five in the afternoon, the Emperor Napoleon died in his apartments at Longwood, Island of St. Helena, after a long and painful illness, in the bosom of the Roman-Catholic and Apostolic church, and in presence of us, the undersigned, and of all the persons of his Majesty's household on service at Longwood.

(Signed) "COUNT BERTRAND,
"COUNT MONTHOLON.

"Longwood, Island of St. Helena,
the fifth of May,
One thousand eight hundred and twenty-one."

PROCES-VERBAL ATTESTING THE DELIVERING OF THE WILL AND CODICILS INTO THE HANDS OF COUNT MONTHOLON, THE OPENING OF THE SECOND CODICIL, &c. &c.

"This day, the fifth of May, one thousand eight hundred and twenty-one, at Longwood, Island of St. Helena, we, the undersigned Count Bertrand, Count Montholon, the Abbé Vignali, and Louis Marchand, assembled, conformably to the orders of the Emperor Napoleon, immediately after his decease.

"Monsieur Marchand declared to us that he was the depositary of the following articles, and was

charged by the Emperor to deliver them to Count Montholon, which he has done in our presence—viz.,

" 1. The nine papers or packets sealed with the Emperor's arms and with ours, such as they are described in the *proces-verbal* of the 27th of April last.

" 2. A packet sealed with the Imperial arms.

" 3. Two papers torn into several pieces.

" 4. Two receipts.

" 5. A diamond necklace.

" Monsieur Marchand further declared to us that he was the depositary of three mahogany caskets, mentioned in the said *proces-verbal*, and of about twenty-six thousand francs in silver, conformably to his register.

" Count Montholon declared to us that he was the depositary—

" 1. Of about three hundred thousand francs in gold.

" 2. Of two gold snuff-boxes, one of them adorned with an ancient cameo; and that, besides, he had in his hands an unsigned paper, entitled '8th codicil,' written partly by the Emperor's own hand, and partly from his dictation, after delirium became manifest.

" Count Bertrand has declared to us that he was the depositary of the Emperor's arms.

" Conformably to our instructions, we afterwards proceeded to open codicil No 2, and in execution of the arrangements contained in it, have given to Monsieur Marchand the diamond necklace above mentioned, on condition that he shall restore it to our

hands, should it be otherwise disposed of by later codicils.

"We put our seals on the locks of the caskets. After which we drew up and signed the present *proces-verbal* on the above-mentioned day, and in the above-mentioned year.

(Signed) "COUNT BERTRAND.
"COUNT MONTHOLON.
"MARCHAND.
"VIGNALI."

PROCES-VERBAL OF THE PLACING OF THE SEALS.

"This day, the fifth of May, one thousand eight hundred and twenty-one, at the house of Longwood, Island of St. Helena, in which died to-day, at half-past five, P. M., his Majesty, the Emperor Napoleon, Monsieur le Comte Bertrand, Grand Marshal of the Palace to his Majesty, Monsieur le Comte de Montholon, aide-de-camp to his Majesty, and Monsieur Louis Marchand, valet-de-chambre to his Majesty, assembled. Monsieur le Comte Montholon declared that he had received orders to open immediately, which he did, a codicil bearing date the 16th of April last, by which his Majesty had named Monsieur le Comte Montholon, Monsieur le Comte Bertrand, and Monsieur Marchand his executors.

"The undersigned executors finding it impossible to make a regular inventory of the Emperor's property, agreed that an estimate of it, approved and signed by them, should be made.

" They immediately put their seals to the caskets containing the money, boxes, and other articles, and signed:—

" BERTRAND.
" MARCHAND.
" MONTHOLON."

May 6th, the Abbé Vignali passed the night in prayer beside the Emperor's body; Bertrand and I fulfilled by turns the pious duty of watching; Marchand, although still very weak, also watched. The physicians, Antommarchi and Arnott, passed the night in a similar manner.

This morning, at seven o'clock, Sir Hudson Lowe, followed by his whole staff, and accompanied by the French Admiral, by General Coffin, and by the members of the council of government, as well as by the captains of the vessels then in the roads, came to Longwood, and required me to admit him to see the body of the Emperor. All was ready for this sad ceremony; the Emperor lay on his camp-bed in his little bedchamber. Noverras, although exhausted by dysentery, had collected all his strength in order to shave him; and Marchand, with the assistance of St. Denis, had clothed him in the uniform of the mounted *chasseurs* of his imperial guard; the cloak which he wore at Marengo covered his feet, and a crucifix had been laid on his breast. The Grand Marshal stood on the right side of the bed, Marchand on the left, and the Abbé Vignali was engaged in prayer at the foot, when I admitted Sir Hudson Lowe, who had

brought with him the Marquis Montchenu, commissioner of King Louis XVIII., and charged *per interim* with the functions of commissioner of the Emperor of Austria; Admiral Lambert, commander of the squadron; Brigadier-General Coffin, commander of the brigade of land troops; Messrs. Brook and Thomas, members of the council of colonial administration of the island; two captains of the royal marine; and Drs. Mitchell, Short, Arnott, Burton, and Livington, surgeons of the squadron, the garrison, and the East India Company.

Sir Hudson Lowe bowed respectfully when I showed him the inanimate corpse of the Emperor, and his example was followed by all the persons of his suite. They all defiled before the bed with religious silence and respect.

But scarcely had we quitted the chamber, when Sir Hudson Lowe announced to me that the surgeons, by his orders, were about to proceed immediately to the post-mortem examination. I indignantly rejected the proposal, and summoned the Grand Marshal to my assistance; but our protestations would have been impotent against the will of the Governor, had not the Marquis Montchenu added his opposition to ours, declaring, that acting in his double quality of commissioner of France and Austria, he protested against this illegal order, and claimed the execution of the regulations in use in the island with regard to interments.

Sir Hudson Lowe was obliged to yield to the declaration made, that the customs of St Helena demanded that unless symptoms of decomposition made their appearance, an interment should not take place before

the expiration of twenty-four hours. It was agreed that this usage should be respected.

The Emperor's death was unhappily but too certain. We could no longer entertain the slightest gleam of hope; and, nevertheless, our grief was sadly increased when, towards noon, Dr. Antommarchi declared to us that decomposition was making rapid progress, and that the necessity for proceeding to the examination and embalmment was urgent.

Sir Hudson Lowe was informed of this state of things, and at two o'clock, P.M., the English medical men, Short, Arnott, Mitchell, Burton, and Livington, joined Dr. Antommarchi: the latter proceeded to the examination, in presence of the Grand Marshal, myself, and the persons belonging to the household of the Emperor; the Governor was represented by the chief of his staff. This sad operation was performed in the topographic cabinet. The following is the *proces-verbal* of it:—

"REPORT OF DR. ANTOMMARCHI, CHARGED WITH THE OPENING OF THE EMPEROR'S BODY.

"I, the undersigned, François Antommarchi, surgeon in ordinary to the Emperor Napoleon, in execution of the orders given me by the Counts Bertrand and Montholon, proceeded to open the body of the Emperor. Having opened the cavities of the thorax and stomach, I observed what follows:—

"1. The exterior convex surface of the left lung adhering at different points to the corresponding costal pleura.

"2. About three ounces of lymphatic humour in the bag of the left costal pleura.

"3. About eight ounces of the same lymphatic liquid in the bag of the right costal pleura.

"4. The lungs in a natural state.

"5. The heart in a good state, enveloped in its pericardium, and covered with a little fat.

"6. The stomach, intestines, liver, spleen, and large omentum, in their natural place.

"7. The upper convex surface of the left lobe of the liver adhering to the corresponding part of the concave surface of the diaphragm.

"8. The interior concave surface of the lobe strongly adhering to the fore-surface and to the small curve of the stomach, as well as the little omentum.

"9. Having carefully detached, partly with the scalpel and partly with the fingers, the said adherences, I observed, that the adherence of the concave surface of the left lobe of the liver formed a hole of about three lines in diameter in the fore-surface of the stomach, near its right extremity.

"10. Having opened the stomach behind its large curve, I observed that it was partly filled with a liquid blackish substance, which had a sharp and disagreeable smell.

"11. Having removed the said liquid, I observed a very extended cancerous ulcer, which occupied particularly the upper part of the internal surface of the stomach, and extending from the orifice of the cardia to within an inch of the pylorus.

"12. On the edge of this ulcer towards the pylorus, I perceived the hole above mentioned (Art. 9), produced by an ulcerous corrosion of the partitions of the stomach.

"13. The ulcerous partitions of the stomach were considerably swelled and hardened.

"14. Between the ulcer and the pylorus, and contiguous to the ulcer, I observed a scirrhous swelling and hardness of some lines in breadth, which circularly occupied the right extremity of the stomach.

"15. The liver was obstructed, and of an unnatural size.

"16. All the intestines were in a good state, but filled with air.

(Signed) "FRANCOIS ANTOMMARCHI.

"Longwood, May 8, 1821."

Sir Hudson Lowe had signified to us, that conformably to the orders of his government, he forbade the embalmment of the body; but it was only at the moment that Dr. Antommarchi was proceeding to enclose the heart in a silver vase filled with spirits of wine, the Emperor having commanded us to take it to the Empress, that he sent a message declaring his opposition to this measure, and stating that no part should be thus preserved but the stomach, which was to be sent to England.

This declaration gave rise to a warm discussion; all we could succeed in obtaining was, that the heart should be enclosed in a silver vase, in like manner to

the stomach, and should be thus placed in the coffin. I also obtained permission to put into the coffin, in pursuance of an order received from the Emperor, a collection of gold money struck in his reign. The examination being terminated, the Emperor was again clothed in the dress of the chasseurs of the guard, and laid out on his camp-bed in the chamber next to his usual bed-chamber; the bed was placed so as to face the glass-door which opened to the little garden, and a crucifix was placed on his breast.

The regiments of the garrison and numerous detachments of the crews of the squadron, in full dress, but unarmed, defiled before his mortal remains; they all, officers, soldiers, and sailors, bent the knee to the ground on arriving opposite the glass door; some of the officers entreated to be allowed the honour of pressing with their lips a corner of the cloak of Marengo, with which we had covered the Emperor's feet.

The Grand Marshal, Monsieur Marchand, and myself, surrounded the bed of the Emperor; the Abbé Vignali was engaged in prayer at the foot.

Captain Crokat, of the 20th regiment, orderly officer at Longwood, left St. Helena this evening, on board the Heron, to carry to England the news of the Emperor's death, as well as the *proces-verbal* of the examination.

May 7th.—This morning the whole Creole population came in procession to Longwood, to pay a last

testimony of homage and respect to the illustrious captive who had gained their love and admiration.

At two o'clock in the afternoon, everything being ready for placing the Emperor's mortal remains in the coffin which was to shut him from all eyes for ever, we proceeded to the performance of this cruel duty.

The following is the *proces-verbal* of it:

"PROCES-VERBAL OF THE PLACING IN THE COFFIN.

"This day, the seventh of May, one thousand eight hundred and twenty-one, at Longwood, Island of St. Helena, the body of the Emperor, being clothed in the uniform of the *chasseurs* of his guard, was by us, the undersigned, placed in a tin coffin, lined with white satin, and having a pillow and mattress of the same; we also put into this coffin the heart, enclosed in a silver vase, surmounted by the Imperial eagle, and the box containing the stomach; also a silver vase, engraved with the Imperial arms, a cover of silver ditto, a plate ditto, six double Napoleons in French gold, four single gold Napoleons, a double silver Napoleon, and two Italian double Napoleons of gold.

"The first coffin having been soldered in our presence, was placed in another of lead, which, after having also been soldered, was enclosed in a third coffin of mahogany.

"The coffin was placed on the camp bed, in the *chapelle ardente*, and covered with a pall of velvet, on which we spread the cloak which the Emperor had

worn in every campaign since the battle of Marengo, after which we drew up and signed the present *proces-verbal*, the day and year above mentioned.

(Signed) "COUNT BERTRAND.
COUNT MONTHOLON.
MARCHAND."

On the 8th of May the Grand Marshal called us together, to proceed to the examination of the Emperor Napoleon's finances. The following is the *proces-verbal:*—

"PROCES-VERBAL ATTESTING THE STATE OF THE FINANCES.

"This day, May the 8th, one thousand eight hundred and twenty-one, at Longwood, Island of St. Helena, we, the undersigned executors of the Emperor Napoleon, examined the state of the finances, and found that there existed—

1. In the hands of Count Montholon, conformably to the notes written by the Emperor's hand:

		francs.	cents.
In current gold of St. Helena	1070 quadruples at 96 frs.	102,720	„
	8818 Napoleons at 21,60 .	190,472	„
	Money of China .	6,930	„
		300,122	„
In a purse, different pieces of Money .		632	„
Six notes of the Bank of England .		576	„
Carried forward .		301,330	„

	francs.	cents.
Brought forward .	301,330	„
2. In the hands of Monsieur Marchand, conformably to his register, in ready money, and likewise in current money of St. Helena, the sum of 22,086 shillings, making in France . .	26,503	20
Sum total in hand . . .	327,833	20

"After which, we again attached our seals, and signed the present *proces-verbal*, the day and year above-mentioned.

(Signed) "COUNT BERTRAND.
"COUNT MONTHOLON.
"MARCHAND."

May 9th.—Scarcely was the grave, destined to receive the mortal remains of the Emperor, completed by the military labourers, when the Governor sent us information that the ceremony of interment was to take place at eleven o'clock precisely, and desiring that we might be in readiness at that hour. The *proces-verbal* of the interment is as follows:

"PROCES-VERBAL OF THE INTERMENT.

"This day, May the ninth, one thousand eight hundred and twenty-one, at Longwood, Island of St. Helena, the last duties were rendered to the Emperor Napoleon.

At ten o'clock, A.M., the Abbé Vignali celebrated mass and the service for the dead.

"At eleven o'clock, the garrison being under arms and lining the way, the cortège quitted Longwood;

the corners of the cloak were held by Count Bertrand, Count Montholon, Napoleon Bertrand, and Marchand; the Countess Bertrand and the whole of the Emperor's household surrounded the funereal car. The staff, and successively the whole garrison, followed in its rear.

"At noon, the almoner of the Emperor having blessed the grave dug at the fountain Colbett, and the prayers being concluded, the coffin was lowered into the grave, amidst the reports of salvos of artillery from the forts and the ships of the squadron.

"The grave was then filled in, and closed with masonry, in our presence, and a guard of honour placed beside it. After which we drew up and signed the present *proces-verbal*, the day and year above-mentioned.

(Signed) "COUNT MONTHOLON.
"COUNT BERTRAND.
"MARCHAND."

On the 11th of May, the Governor sent to inform me that on the next day, the 12th, he would come to Longwood for the purpose of receiving from me a communication of the testamentary wishes of the Emperor, and to proceed to examine the inventory of his moveable effects in the Island of St. Helena. The following is the *proces-verbal* of this visit:—

"PROCES-VERBAL ATTESTING THE EXAMINATION OF THE INVENTORY BY THE GOVERNOR, AND THE OPENING, IN HIS PRESENCE, OF CODICIL NO. I.

"This day, May the twelfth, one thousand eight hundred and twenty one, at Longwood, Island of St.

Helena, the Governor of the Island having repaired to Longwood, for the purpose of proceeding to the examination of the inventory of the effects and other property of the Emperor Napoleon in St. Helena, we, the undersigned, have, conformably with our instructions, opened in his presence the codicil No. 1, as well as the inventories attached to it.

"After having examined the said papers, he caused to be broken before us the seals placed on the three caskets of mahogany, mentioned in the *proces-verbal* of the 27th of April last; which were found to contain the articles named in the lists.

"The Governor declared to us that he could not authorize the definitive execution of the codicil communicated to him, and that he must refer to his government on the subject; but that we might proceed to the provisional execution of the said arrangements. After which we drew up and signed the present *proces-verbal*, the day and year above-mentioned.

(Signed) "COUNT MONTHOLON.
"COUNT BERTRAND.
"MARCHAND."

On the 14th of May, we made a division of the Emperor's effects, in conformity with the instructions of his Codicil No. 2, dated the 16th of April, 1821. The following is the *proces-verbal*:—

"PROCES-VERBAL OF THE DIVISION OF THE EFFECTS.

"This day, May the fourteenth, one thousand eight hundred and twenty-one, at Longwood, Island of St.

Helena, in conformity with the arrangements contained in the Codicil No. 2, we proceeded to the division of the effects and books of the Emperor Napoleon, and caused to be enclosed in cases such of these articles as he has disposed of to the princes and princesses of his family. After which we drew up and signed the present *proces-verbal*, the day and year above-mentioned.

(Signed) "COUNT MONTHOLON.
"COUNT BERTRAND.
"MARCHAND."

On the 30th of May, we quitted Longwood, and embarked on board the Camel, a vessel of the Royal Marine, placed by Sir Hudson Lowe at our disposal, for the purpose of conveying us to England.

On the 25th of July, 1821, the captain having announced to us that we had for some hours been in the European seas, I communicated to Count Bertrand, Mons. Marchand, and the Abbé Vignali, in conformity with the Emperor's orders, the testaments and codicils of which I was the depositary. The following is the *proces-verbal* of the proceeding:—

"PROCES-VERBAL.

"This day, July the twenty-fifth, one thousand eight hundred and twenty-one, being at the time in the European seas, at the distance of 160 leagues, Paris latitude from the coasts of France, Count Montholon declared to us, that in conformity with the order received from the Emperor, he should open the testaments, codicils and instructions designated in the *proces-*

verbal of the 27th of April last, and communicate them to us in the presence of Mons. l'Abbé Vignali; which he did.

"After which we drew up and signed the present *proces-verbal*, on sea, the day and year above-mentioned, on board his Britannic Majesty's vessel the Camel.

(Signed) "COUNT MONTHOLON.
"COUNT BERTRAND.
"MARCHAND.
"VIGNALI."

Having arrived in England, we definitively drew up the account of the expenses incurred after the Emperor's decease, in his affairs; the detail of them is curious, on account of the articles referring to the interment. The *proces-verbal* is as follows:—

"PROCES-VERBAL OF THE LIQUIDATION OF THE EXPENSES INCURRED AFTER THE EMPEROR'S DECEASE IN HIS AFFAIRS, FROM THE 5TH OF MAY TO THE 18TH OF AUGUST, 1821.

"This day, August the eighteenth, one thousand eight hundred and twenty-one, at London, the undersigned executors of the Emperor Napoleon, have drawn up and approved the present list of the payments made in relation to his affairs from the 5th of May last to the above-mentioned day; the said payments amount together, as is shown in the subjoined account,

to the sum of three hundred and forty-one thousand, five hundred and fourteen francs, and twenty centimes, viz.:

May 7th, 1821.	francs.	cents.
Gratuity to Dr. Arnott, of the 20th regiment,	13,960	„
Put in the coffin in pieces stamped with the Emperor's effigy . . .	435	50
Velvet pall for the coffin . . .	112	80
Seventy ells of black cloth for the *Chapelle Ardente*	3,168	„
Mourning for the English Domestics .	216	„
Light for the *Chapelle Ardente* . .	601	66
Memorandum of the Maître d'Hôtel, expenses from 1st to 5th of May . .	1,027	20
Memoranda of arrears of personal expenses of the Emperor . . .	5,009	60
Salaries, reserve made, by means of a sum ordered by his Majesty:		
To Mons. Marchand . 25,232 francs		
— St. Denis . 7,800		
— Noverras . 9,053		
— Pierron . 3,400	45,785	„
— Coursot . 150		
— Chandelier . 150		
Current salaries—Month of April .	7,705	32
„ Month of May .	7,705	32
Gratuity to the English domestics .	1,663	„
Allowance of Dr. Antommarchi . .	18,000	„
Claim, relative to the interment, made by the Maitre d'Hôtel, Cipriani .	1,391	90
Reimbursement, at the charge of the Emperor, to General Gourgaud . .	2,400	„
Carried forward .	109,181	30

	Brought forward .	109,181	30
Gratuities in execution of the Codicil No. 2, dated April 16th, 1821:			
To Count Bertrand	48,500 francs		
To Count Montholon	48,500		
To Mons. Marchand	48,500		
— St. Denis	14,550		
— Noverras	14,550	227,950	„
— Pierron	14,550		
— Vignali	14,550		
— Archambaud	9,700		
— Coursot	9,700		
— Chandelier	4,850		
To the English soldiers who carried the coffin.		2,000	„
Provision for the domestics on board the Camel		2,382	90
	Total	341,514	20

The above payments were provided for by means of the subjoined resources:—

	francs.	cents.
In the hands of Mons. Marchand .	26,503	20
In the hands of Count Montholon .	301,330	„
	327,833	20
Supplied by Count Bertrand .	2,400	„
— Count Montholon .	4,231	„
— Marchand . .	7,050	„
Total	341,514	20

" The undersigned have verified the exactitude of the expenses and resources above mentioned, which are balanced; and have signed the present *proces-*

verbal, the day and year above mentioned, at the house of Count Bertrand, Leicester Square, London.

(Signed) " BERTRAND,
" MONTHOLON,
" MARCHAND."

Our instructions imposed on us a duty, which our religious devotion to the Emperor rendered doubly sacred; we had orders to demand that his mortal remains should be brought back to France; and in case the government of France should refuse to allow them to return *to the banks of the Seine, into the midst of the French people, whom he loved so well*, we were to demand that, at least, the tomb of his fathers, in the cemetery at Ajaccio, might be re-opened to receive them.

All the entreaties we had addressed to Sir Hudson Lowe, in St. Helena, had been in vain; his orders were formal, and we were forced to submit to the law of the stronger.

The steps which we took towards the French and English Governments gave rise to the following correspondence:

" TO LORD LIVERPOOL, PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL OF STATE.

" MY LORD, — Being charged by the Emperor Napoleon with the execution of his last wishes, we

beg you to lay at the feet of the King the petition which we have the honour to address to him.

"We are, &c., &c., &c.,

(Signed) "COUNT MONTHOLON,

"COUNT BERTRAND.

"London, September 27th, 1821."

"TO THE KING OF ENGLAND.

"SIRE,—We now fulfil a sacred duty imposed on us by the Emperor Napoleon's last wishes—we claim his ashes.

"Your Ministers, Sire, are aware of his desire to repose *in the midst of the people, whom he loved so well;* his wishes were communicated to the Governor of St. Helena, but that officer, without paying any regard to our protestations, caused him to be interred in that land of exile.

"His mother, listening to nought but her grief, implores from you, Sire, demands from you, the ashes of her son; she demands from you the feeble consolation of watering his tomb with her tears. If, on his barren rock, as when on his throne, he was the terror of the world, when dead, his glory alone should survive him.

"We are, with respect, &c. &c.

(Signed) "COUNT BERTRAND,

"COUNT MONTHOLON.

"London, September 21st, 1821."

" THE ENGLISH AMBASSADOR TO MONSIEUR LE COMTE MONTHOLON.

" THE English Ambassador has the honour to inform Monsieur le Comte Montholon, that having received orders from his Government to make a communication to him as well as to Count Bertrand, he will expect Monsieur le Comte to-morrow, Friday, at half-past twelve, hoping that he will come to him at that hour, should it be convenient.

" The Ambassador has the honour to offer Monsieur le Comte the assurance of his high consideration.

" Paris, December, 1821."

This communication was a resolution of the English Government that it only considered itself as the depositary of the Emperor's ashes, and that it would deliver them up to France as soon as the latter Government should express a desire to that effect.

We immediately applied to the French ministry, but without result.

On the 1st of May, 1822, Monsieur le Comte de Montmorency, Minister of Foreign Affairs, consented to present the following letter to his Majesty Louis XVIII.:

" SIRE,—We were charged to demand from the King of England, before again beholding our native land, permission to bring back to the banks of the

Seine the ashes of the Emperor Napoleon, which have been interred in the land of exile.'

"The accomplishment of this wish depends upon your Majesty; the English government has declared this to us. Deign, sire, to permit, at least, that the same marble at Ajaccio may cover the son and the father, in a land consecrated by the religion in which he was born and lived.

"Sire, we venture to raise our voices even to your Majesty, in order to fulfil our sacred mission to you. We will in silence await your royal decision; but we thought that no consideration could free us from an engagement consecrated by the sacredness of the tomb.

"We have the honour to lay at your Majesty's feet the homage of our profound respect.

(Signed) "COUNT BERTRAND,
"COUNT MONTHOLON,
"MARCHAND."

"Paris, 4th of May, 1822."

The execution of the Emperor's last wishes is in some manner connected with the history of his captivity; but I shall confine myself to proving, by the publication of the following letter, that the executors of the Emperor religiously performed their duty.

"THE COMMISSARIES OF THE LEGATEES OF THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON TO GENERAL MONTHOLON.

"MONSIEUR LE COMTE,—The legatees of the Emperor, at the moment when the liquidation of the sums reverting to them by their legacies is completed, by

the care of the executors, feel themselves bound to express to you their thanks; we, the interpreters of their sentiments, beg you to accept them in their name and in our own.

"The legatees have pleasure in acknowledging that it is to your care, and to the active steps which, during the last five years, you have not ceased to take, as well in France as in England, before tribunals and by referring to ministers, that the removal of the obstacles which had hitherto retarded, and would have indefinitely postponed the realization of the Emperor Napoleon's beneficent intentions towards them, is mainly due.

"Happy to terminate, by testifying our gratitude to you, our short mission, during which we have always found you, Monsieur le Comte, zealous, disinterested, and conciliatory, we beg you to receive, once again, the assurance of the distinguished sentiments with which we have the honour to be, &c. &c. &c.

(Signed) "General Brayer.
"Marbot.
"Poggi.
"Baron Menneval.
"Potron,
"Notary, furnished with powers by General Cambronne."

CHAPTER VIII.

ON THE POSITION OF FRANCE IN RELATION TO FOREIGN POWERS.

NAPOLEON regarded a general peace as the first step towards the regeneration of Europe; and when he was at the very height of his power, he renewed his offer of peace with England, in concert with the Emperor of Austria and the King of Prussia, who had gone to Dresden for the express purpose of paying him a visit, and openly testifying the sincerity of their alliance. The English ministry and the libels of all the oligarchs in the world may say what they please; it is nevertheless true, that the Emperor Napoleon always desired peace with England.

So also, when surrounded by a royal *cortège*, and when 400,000 soldiers, under the French eagle, were encamped on the banks of the Niemen, he again held out a friendly hand to the Emperor Alexander, and sent to him his aide-de-camp, Count Narbonne, to make

a last effort for the re-establishment of harmony between two sovereigns, who, not long before, had mutually engaged to act as brothers.

But the counsels of Catherine ill accorded with the mystical ideas of Alexander, and this explains the contradictions between his impressions as a private man and his policy as a sovereign. He has a superior mind, is well bred, graceful, and insinuating; a real Greek of the lower empire. At Erfurt, he ventured to advise the death of the princes of Spain who were detained at Valençay: he said, "Ferdinand is but one man, and he will cost your Majesty 300,000 men and 300 millions of money: his death will settle the Spanish question. If you allow him to live, you will create for yourself difficulties, the consequences of which will be, perhaps, very serious: you cannot hesitate when your own interest and that of France is at stake. Your ideas are a little antiquated; hereditary right is one of the abuses of sovereignty." It was a curious exchange of characters; a man of the people defending hereditary right against the descendant of sovereigns! It was there also that he said to Marshal Lannes, "The friendship of a great man is a blessing bestowed by God!" Could Alexander have been sincere! His advising the death of Ferdinand would lead one to think so.

However, his concurrence in the war at Wagram was not energetic; it was, as it were, against his inclinations; and the acquisition of a part of Gallicia, as the price of his engaging in the campaign with 30,000

Russians, did not satisfy him. In his intimacies, as well as in the arts of his diplomacy, he showed that he had often thought about Poland, and did not conceal his resentment, when he learned that the Emperor of the French laid it down as a principle, *that the re-establishment of Poland was wished for by all the western powers, and that as long as that kingdom was not re-established, Europe would be without a frontier on the side of Asia.* He even went so far as to profit by the influence of the sentiments which he publicly professed for the Duke of Vicenza, the French Ambassador at St. Petersburg, to get him to sign, but only as a *paraphe sine varietate*, a secret compact between the two Emperors of France and Russia for the partition of the world. It was the Erfurt idea, reduced to the form of a mystical, diplomatic, and paternal convention.

But there, as at Erfurt, the Polish question was an insurmountable obstacle. They could come to an understanding on many points; but Poland and Constantinople were two French subjects of interest, upon which any agreement was impossible. However enfeebled the Ottoman empire might be by the carelessness of its administration, it was of necessity the point of separation of the two empires. It was the marsh which prevented turning the right of the French. As for Greece, it was quite another thing. She expected a deliverer, and more than once had occupied the attention of the Commander-in-chief of Italy, as well as the Sovereign of the French. In

1797, he wrote to the Directory, "I have my eye upon the kingdom of Alexander." In 1811, he made preparations at Corfu for an expedition of 40,000 men. He considered that Greece ought, necessarily, to fall to the lot of the power which should possess Egypt; and to secure the possession of Egypt to France was the constant aim of his policy. Constantinople could be an independent state, a species of barrier against Russia, as the Congress of Vienna wished to raise one against France by creating the kingdom of Belgium. But Napoleon could no more consent to give Constantinople to Russia, than he could engage not to re-establish the kingdom of Poland: the doing so he would look upon as an act of base ingratitude. The Poles had shed their blood in the ranks of the French army. They were our brethren in arms. The Duke of Vicenza was severely blamed for having listened to such proposals, and the compact which he had signed was destroyed. However, the Emperor Alexander did not despair; the mission of Prince Kouralkin was for the purpose of urging the affair, although it was disguised under the most amicable appearances. Poland was an *idée fixe*, in which the intrigues of England encouraged him. The occupation of the frontier of the Duchy of Oldenburg by the light troops of the first *corps d'armée*, commanded by Marshal Davoust, at the mouth of the Elbe, was the pretext for the commencement of some bitterness in the diplomatic relations, in the beginning of 1811. An ukase prohibited the introduction of French mer-

chandise into any country under the dominion of Russia, and ordered the burning of all goods sent in infraction of this rigorous decree. On this occasion, Napoleon said to the Prince Kouralkin, at the diplomatic audience on the Sunday, "Monsieur, write to your master and say, that I would prefer receiving a blow on the cheek, to seeing the products of the industry and labour of my subjects burned. What greater injury can Russia inflict upon France? Not being able to invade our soil, she attacks us in our products, in our commerce, in our industry." The Duke of Vicenza was ordered to demand the retractation of the ukase, and to ask for an explanation of the armaments of which mention was made by the Baron Bignon, the French diplomatic agent at Warsaw. The Emperor Alexander could not resolve upon an open rupture, either because he did not yet think himself in a situation to make war with advantage, or because he felt himself restrained by sentiments of personal friendship towards the Emperor of the French. He had recourse to all the practices of *Græca fides*, which is too often the guide of the cabinet of St. Petersburg. All his protestations to the Duke of Vicenza, all his letters to the Emperor Napoleon, repeated the expression, "Why should there be distrust between us? I am raising no extraordinary armament; the levies of which you have been informed, are only the usual recruiting of the army. I should have a better right to ask you, why your armies cover Poland? But I do not, for I have confidence in you,

of which I can give no stronger proof than my desire to see you espouse a Grand Duchess of Russia. Trust me; you will never have to repent of the friendship which you have shown me. The ukase of which you justly complain, was forced from me by the Boyards; would you condemn me to a fate similar to that of my unfortunate father? I cannot recal that ukase without exposing myself to it; but I have it in my power to prevent its being carried into effect, and that it shall not be."

How could any one doubt amid such assurances, or resolve to believe in a duplicity which so many facts discovered? Napoleon replied: "Never shall my armies cross the Neimen, unless you break the treaty of Tilsit, and deny your fraternal protestations at Erfurt! The choice of an Arch-duchess of Austria is apart from all political considerations, and is no return to the politics of the cabinet of Versailles; my personal sentiments and the policy of my government would lead me to prefer a Grand Duchess of Russia; and you know better than any one else, that if I did not conclude that marriage, the Empress, the mother of your Majesty, was the chief cause by the ill will which she showed to it, and the difficulties which she had thrown in the way of it."

In the meantime, a rupture appeared imminent; the influence of England made rapid strides at St. Petersburg. M. de Romanzoff was its principal agent, and laid before the eyes of Alexander some private correspondence from Paris, in which it was asserted

that Napoleon experienced the greatest difficulties from the war in Spain; that he was disposed to make great sacrifices in order to preserve amicable relations with Russia; and that the occasion was favourable for obtaining an indemnity for the Duchy of Oldenburg, and for acquiring Dantzic. This is the explanation of the insulting and unexpected note presented by Prince Kouralkin, which declared that the Emperor, his master, insisted that the French troops should evacuate Poland and Germany; and also of the refusal to receive General Lauriston as ambassador from France to St. Petersburg, instead of the Duke of Vicenza. It was a declaration of war; Napoleon looked upon this as the last sacrifice to which France was condemned; his own destiny, and that of the European system, were involved in the struggle. Russia was the last resource of England; and the peace of the globe depended on Russia. Success did not appear doubtful—the enterprise was popular; being an European power, France was about to march to the combat at the head of continental Europe.

On the 22nd of June, 1812, peace was still possible; on the 24th, it was no longer so. The Emperor had said to the army: "Soldiers! the second Polish war is commenced: the first terminated at Friedland and at Tilsit. At Tilsit, Russia swore to eternal alliance with France, and war with England. To-day, she violates her oaths! she will give no ex-

plaination of her strange conduct, except that the French eagles have not re-passed the Rhine, and by so doing, left our allies to her discretion.

"Russia is hurried on by fate; her destiny must be fulfilled. Does she think that we have degenerated? Are we then no longer the soldiers of Austerlitz? She places us between dishonour and war; our choice cannot be doubtful. Let us then advance! let us pass the Niemen and carry the war into her territory. The second Polish war shall be as glorious to the French armies as the first was; but the peace which we conclude shall contain within it a sure guarantee, and shall put an end to the haughty influence which Russia has exercised in the affairs of Europe during the last fifty years!"

The Niemen was crossed by three hundred thousand soldiers under the French eagle, and an entire corps of the Russian army was intercepted, and in the greatest danger. "It is too late; the challenge has been given and accepted," said Napoleon, when it was announced that an aide-de-camp of the Emperor Alexander was at the outposts, and was bringing pacific overtures. Still, he received him, and replied to Alexander:—"I consent to forget everything, and to re-establish our relations on the footing upon which they were in our last interview. Let us meet, let us understand each other; let us sign a peace forthwith, like good brothers, and my army shall repass the Niemen in twenty-four hours."

But the mission of this aide-de-camp was nothing but a lure to get the start of us by some marches, and save from almost certain destruction the corps of Prince Bagration, of which not a single battalion would have escaped, had the Emperor's orders been better executed.

"My destiny must be fulfilled," said he to the Prince of Neufchâtel!

The following instructions were sent by the Emperor to his Ambassador, and the secret articles of the treaties of February 24th, and March 14th, 1812, were signed by him:

"SIR,—The Emperor has sufficient confidence in your ability and devotion to his service, to intrust to you a mission of the greatest political importance; a mission requiring activity, prudence and discretion.

"You must go to Dresden, the apparent object of your journey being to present to his Majesty the King of Saxony a letter which the Emperor will send you to-morrow after his levee. His imperial and royal Majesty has already given you his instructions; he will communicate to you verbally his wishes with regard to the overtures you must make to the King of Saxony.

"The intention of the Emperor is that the King of Saxony should be treated with that consideration to which he has a claim from the particular esteem which his Imperial Majesty feels for him personally. You will explain yourself frankly both to the King

and his ministers. You may feel confidence in the opinion of the Count of Senft-Pilsac.

"Saxony will not be required to *sacrifice anything without compensation.*

"Saxony attaches little value to the sovereignty of the Duchy of Warsaw, such as it is at present; it is a precarious and burdensome charge. The possession of this fragment of Poland places her in a false position with regard to Prussia, Austria, and Russia. You will develop these ideas, and you will treat this question in the same manner as in the discussion which took place on the 17th, in his Majesty's cabinet, when you were present. You will find the cabinet of Dresden little inclined to oppose you; its diplomacy has, several times, suggested to us the same observation. The question is not about the dismemberment of the King of Saxony's dominions.

"After a short stay at Dresden, you will announce your departure for Warsaw, where you must wait for fresh orders from the Emperor.

"His Imperial Majesty requests the King of Saxony to accredit you to his Polish ministers.

"You will concert your measures at Warsaw with the Emperor's High Chamberlain, and with General Z——. These two persons are descended from the most illustrious families of Poland; they have promised to make use of their influence with their fellow-citizens to induce them to exert themselves for the happiness and independence of their country.

"You must instigate the Government of the Grand

Duchy to prepare for the great changes which the Emperor proposes to bring about in favour of the Polish nation.

"The Poles must second the designs of the Emperor, and co-operate themselves in their regeneration: *they must only look upon the French as powerful auxiliaries.* The Emperor does not conceal from himself the difficulties which he must experience in the re-establishment of Poland. The work of policy must be opposed to *the apparent and actual interests of his allies.*

"The re-establishment of Poland by the arms of the French Empire is a hazardous and even a perilous enterprise, in which France will be obliged to struggle equally against her friends and her enemies. Let us enter into particulars.

"The object which the Emperor has in view is the organization of Poland, with the whole or a part of its ancient territory; and this he wishes to accomplish without a war, if it be possible. To this end, his Majesty has given very extensive powers to his Ambassador at St. Petersburg; and he has sent to Vienna a negotiator who is authorized to treat with the principal powers, and to offer to make great sacrifices of territory on the part of the French Empire, *as indemnity for the relinquishment of what is required for the establishment of the Kingdom of Poland.*

"Europe is divided into three great parts; the French Empire at the West; the German States in the centre; and the empire of Russia in the East;

England can have, in continental affairs, only so much influence as the powers are willing to concede to her.

" An important object is, to strengthen the central division sufficiently to prevent Russia and France from acquiring the sovereignty of too much of Europe, by extending their dominions. The French empire is in the actual enjoyment of its greatest energy; if it does not now settle the political constitution of Europe, it may before long lose the advantages of its position, and have to give up its enterprises.

" The establishment of a military government in Prussia, the reign and conquests of the great Frederick, the ideas of the age and those of the French revolution, put in circulation, have annihilated the ancient German confederation. The confederation of the Rhine is only a provisional system. The Princes who gained, wished, perhaps, for the consolidation of that system; but the Princes who lost, the people who suffered the miseries of war, and the states which dreaded the too great power of France, would oppose the maintaining of the confederation of the Rhine whenever an occasion presented itself. Even the Princes who were aggrandized by this new system, would feel disposed to withdraw from it, in proportion as time confirmed them in the possession of what they had acquired. France might, in the end, see herself deprived of that protectorship, which she would assuredly have purchased by too many sacrifices.

" The Emperor thinks, that at a final epoch, which

cannot be long delayed, it will be proper to restore the confederation of the powers of Europe to all their independence.

"The House of Austria, which possesses three vast kingdoms, ought to be the soul of this independence, on account of the topographical position of its territories; but she ought not to be the ruler in a case of rupture between the two empires of France and Russia; for, if the confederation of the intermediate powers were moved by the same impulse, it would necessarily involve the ruin of one of the contending parties. The French empire would be more exposed than the Russian empire.

"The centre of Europe ought to consist of nations unequal in their power, each of which would have a system of policy proper to itself; and which, from their situation and their political relation, would look for support in the protectorship of a preponderating power. These nations would be interested in maintaining peace, because they would always be the victims of war. With these views, after having created new kingdoms, and added to the territories of the old, in order to strengthen for the future our system of alliance, it was most important for the Emperor, and at the same time, for Europe, to re-establish Poland: without the restoration of that kingdom, Europe would be without a frontier on that side; Austria and Germany would find themselves face to face with the most vast empire in the universe.

"The Emperor can foresee that Poland, like Prussia,

will be at last in alliance with Russia; but if Poland owes to him her restoration, the epoch of the union of those two powers may be sufficiently distant to allow of the established order of things being consolidated. Europe being thus organized, there would be no longer any reason for rivalry between France and Russia; these two empires would have the same commercial interests, and would act upon the same principles.

" Before the coolness with Prussia, an idea of the Emperor's had been to make a solid alliance with the King of Prussia, and to place on his head the crown of Poland. There were fewer obstacles to overcome, because Prussia already possessed the third part of that kingdom. We should have left to Russia what she meant absolutely to keep; and would have given an indemnity to Austria. The march of events, however, necessitated a change in the Emperor's projects.

" At the time of the negotiations of Tilsit, it was necessary to create more kingdoms precisely in the countries which most dreaded the power of France. The moment was propitious for the re-establishment of Poland, although it would have been a work of violence and force. The war must have been continued; the French army was suffering from cold and from want of provisions; Russia had an army on foot. The Emperor was touched with the generous sentiments which the Emperor Alexander professed for him. He had obstacles to encounter on the part of Austria. He allowed his policy to be overcome by a desire to sign

a peace, which he hoped to render durable, if, by the influence of Russia and of Austria, England would consent to a general pacification.

" After her reverses of fortune, Prussia felt so much hatred towards us, as to make it prudent for us to moderate her power: it was with this view that the Grand Duchy of Warsaw was organized. The King of Saxony was selected as its sovereign, a prince whose whole life had been spent in promoting the happiness of his subjects; and an attempt was made to satisfy the feelings of the Poles by institutions which should be agreeable to them, and conformable to their character and manners. But this was a great mistake in every point of view.

" Saxony, separated from her new possessions by Prussia, could not become sufficiently incorporated with Poland to constitute a strong and powerful state. The overture of having a military route through the Prussian territory, in order to enable Saxony to communicate with Poland, greatly offended the Prussian nation, and her people complained of being deceived in their hopes.

" The Emperor stipulated for the occupation of the Prussian fortresses, in order to make sure that this power would not seek to rekindle the war. The campaign of 1809 showed the prudent foresight of his policy, and had confirmed him in the resolution of labouring without relaxation in such an organization of Europe as should put an end to disastrous wars.

" The Emperor thought that he ought to make a for-

midable demonstration, by pushing forward a number of troops on the Vistula, and by occupying the fortresses of Prussia, in order to secure the fidelity of his allies, and to obtain by negotiation that which he ought, perhaps, to have expected from war alone.

" In these circumstances, there were imminent dangers. Troops cannot be sent five hundred leagues from their own territory without peril; and Poland should depend as much on her own resources as on the support of the Emperor. If war breaks out, I repeat that the Poles should look upon it as an addition to their own resources. They should think of the time when, encouraged by their patriotism and their bravery, they resisted the numerous armies which attacked their independence.

" The people of the Grand Duchy wish for the re-establishment of Poland as a kingdom; it is their duty, therefore, to prepare the way by which the usurped provinces can have an opportunity of declaring their wishes also. The government of the Grand Duchy should, as soon as events permit, unite, under the banners of independence, the dismembered provinces of their unfortunate country. If there be Poles under the dominion of Russia, or of Austria, who decline returning to their mother country, no attempt must be made to force them to do so. The strength of Poland should consist in her public spirit, and in her patriotism, as much as in the institutions which will constitute her new social state.

" The object of your mission is, then, to enlighten,

to encourage, and to direct in their operations, the Polish patriots. You will give an account of your negotiations to the Minister for Foreign Affairs; he will inform the Emperor of your success, and you must also send extracts from your reports.

"The misfortunes, and the weakness of the Polish republic, have been caused by an aristocracy without law or restraint. Then as now the nobility were powerful, the middle class submissive, the people *nothing*. But in the midst of these disorders, there remained in this nation a love of liberty and of independence which long supported its feeble existence. These sentiments must have become strengthened by time and oppression. Patriotism is natural to the Poles, even to the members of distinguished families. The Emperor intends strictly to abide by the promise which he made in Art. 29th of the Treaty of the 9th of July 1807—viz., "to regulate the Grand Duchy by institutions which should secure its liberty and the privileges of the people, consistently with the tranquillity of the neighbouring states. Poland shall have *independence and liberty*. As to the choice of a Sovereign, that will be regulated by the treaty which his Majesty will sign with the other powers. His Majesty puts forward no claim to the throne of Poland, either for himself or for any of his family. In the great work of the restoration of Poland, he has no other object than the happiness of the Poles and the tranquillity of Europe. His Majesty authorizes you to make this declaration,

and to do so with firmness, when you consider it useful for the interests of France and of Poland.

"His Majesty has commanded me to transmit to you this note and these instructions with which he is acquainted, in order that you may make them the subject of your interviews with the Foreign Ministers who may be at Warsaw or at Dresden.

"The Emperor has also addressed notes to the Minister of War and the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Grand Duchy. Should there be need of pecuniary assistance, his Majesty will help the Polish treasury by assignments upon the extraordinary revenue of his possessions in Poland and in Hanover."

Germany had gained a great deal by the act of protection—she had found in it a germ of unity; but there remained also a great deal to be done before she could be looked upon as one nation. There were many opposing interests. Would it be advisable to unite the whole of Germany under one sceptre, laying down as its limits the Rhætic, Carnic, and Julian Alps, the Rhine, the Oder, and the sea? Or would it be better to divide it into two, or even into three, kingdoms, as nature seemed to indicate, and leave to time the task of uniting the German nation under one sceptre?

These kingdoms would be pretty nearly equal in riches, extent, and population; the limits of each would be clearly defined by great rivers and chains of mountains. Without doubt, the portion situated between

Magdeburg and the sea would be the least valuable as regards the soil; but it would be completely indemnified by the advantages derived from its ports and marine. Germany, thus established, would be one vast, powerful, federal monarchy—one great national union; having the same flag, the same laws, the same imposts, and the same interests; it would be the realization of German nationality, without clashing with any local interests or any acquired rights. The four provinces of the Danube and Greece would afford ample compensation for the dynasties which the German interests would have displaced; and the gratitude of the Germans would be in unison with the real interests of their country, and secure the nation as one of the most faithful friends of France.

Italy, insulated by its natural limits, separated by the sea and by extremely high mountains from the rest of Europe, would seem intended to form one great and powerful nation; but there is in its geographical configuration a capital fault, which may be considered as the cause of the misfortunes which it has experienced, and of the partition of that beautiful country into many monarchies or independent republics; this is, that its length is out of all proportion to its breadth. If Italy had been bounded by Mount Vellino, that is to say, nearly in the latitude of Rome, and if all that part of the land between Mount Vellino and the Ionian Sea, including Sicily, had been placed between Sardinia, Corsica, Genoa, and Tuscany, it could have had a centre near all the points of the circumference;

it would have united rivers, climate, and local interests. But on one side are the three great islands which contain a third part of its surface, and which are isolated by interests, dispositions, and circumstances: on the other side, is that part of the Peninsula to the south of Mount Vellino, and which forms the kingdom of Naples. Both these divisions are quite strangers to the interests, the climate, and the wants of the valley of the Po. Thus, whilst the Gauls crossed the Cottian Alps, 600 years before the birth of Christ, and established themselves in the valley of the Po, the Greeks landed on the southern coast from the Ionian Sea, and founded the colonies of Tarentum Salentum, Crotona, and Sybaris—states which were known under the generic name of Græcia Magna. Rome, which subjugated both Gaul and Greece, brought all Italy under its laws. Some centuries after the birth of Christ, when the seat of empire was transplanted to Constantinople, the barbarians passed the Isonzo and the Adige, and founded various states; the throne of the powerful monarchy of Lombardy was established at Pavia. The fleets of Constantinople maintained the imperial domination over the coasts of the South. More recently, the kings of France often penetrated into Italy by the Cottian Alps, and the emperors of Germany by the Cottian and Rhætian Alps. The Popes set these princes in opposition to each other, and by that policy maintained themselves in a sort of independence, and also by means of the divisions and anarchy which they managed to raise in the

towns. But although the south of Italy is, by its situation, separated from the north, still Italy is only one nation; and its unity of manner, of language, and of literature, must, at a future period more or less remote, at length reunite its inhabitants under one single government. In order to exist, the first condition of that monarchy must be, to be a maritime power, that it may be able to maintain the superiority over the islands, and to defend the coasts.

Opinions are divided as to the place which ought to be the capital of such a state. Some think that Venice is obviously the most proper, because the first necessity, in the case of Italy, is to be a maritime power. Venice, secured as it is from attack, by its situation, is the natural depôt of the commerce of the Levant and of Germany; and it is, commercially speaking, the nearest point to Turin and Milan, nearer even than Genoa; and the sea brings it near to every part of the coast. Others are influenced by history and the recollections of the past to fix on Rome; they say that it is more central, and within reach of the three great islands of Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica, and of Naples, the most populous place in Italy; that it is at a convenient distance from all the points of the frontier upon which an attack might be made; whether the enemy approached by the French, the Swiss, or the Austrian frontier, Rome is within the distance of a hundred and twenty or a hundred and forty leagues; that should the frontier of the Alps be forced, she is secured by those of the Po and the Apennines; that France and Spain, which are great

maritime powers, have not seaport towns for their capitals. To these reasons for preference they add, that Rome, being near the coasts of the Mediterranean and the Adriatic, is in a condition to provide rapidly and with economy, by means of Ancona and Venice, for the supply and defence of the frontier of the Isonzo and the Adige; that by the Tiber, Genoa and Villa Franca, she can supply the wants of the frontier of the Var and the Cottian Alps; that by means of the Adriatic and Mediterranean, she is well situated for harassing the wings of any army which should pass the Po, and become embarrassed in the Apennines, without being in possession of the sea; that from Rome, the depôts which a great capital always contains could be readily sent to Naples and Taranto, to put them out of the way of a victorious enemy; that, in short, Rome is in being, and offers more resources for the wants of a great capital than any city in the world; and that, above all, she possesses the magic power of her noble name: we think, also, that although Rome does not possess every recommendation which might be desired, yet that it is, without contradiction, the capital which the Italians will one day choose.

Italy, from its population and its riches, can keep in pay 400,000 troops of every kind, independently of the marine. A war in Italy would require fewer cavalry than one in Germany—30,000 horses would there be sufficient; but there should be a good deal of artillery, to provide for the defence of the coasts and of the maritime establishments. Horses are scarce in Italy; however, there are some valuable ones to be

found in Naples, Tuscany, and Rome; and Albania, Switzerland, Germany, and Africa, could furnish a supply of them, if people would again attend to the breeding of horses, which has been given up for the sake of agriculture, and of the profit derived from horned animals. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the different powers of Italy kept 100,000 horses; at that time, Tuscany alone had an army of 100,000 men, because the troops never went more than a few days' march from their own towns.

No part of Europe is so advantageously situated as this peninsula for becoming a great maritime power; it has, from the mouth of the Var to the straits of Messina, 230 leagues of coast; from the straits of Messina, round by Cape Otranto, to the mouth of the Isonzo on the Adriatic, 230 leagues; the three islands, Sicily, Corsica, and Sardinia, have an extent of coast of 530 leagues; and this calculation is exclusive of the coasts of Istria and Dalmatia, to the entrance of the gulf of Cattaro, and the Ionian Islands, which, under the empire, were dependent on Italy. France has on the Mediterranean 130 leagues of coast,—on the Ocean, 470; in all, 600 leagues. Spain, including her islands, has on the Mediterranean 500 leagues of coast, and 300 on the Ocean. Thus, Italy has a third part more extent of coast than Spain, and half as much more than France. France has three ports, the towns of which contain each a population of 100,000 souls; Italy has Genoa, Naples, Palermo, and Venice, of which the population is greater: Naples

has 400,000 inhabitants. The opposite coasts of the Mediterranean and the Adriatic being not far distant from each other, almost all the population of Italy is within reach of one or the other. Lucca, Pisa, Rome, and Ravenna, at a distance of from three to four leagues from the sea, are all capable of enjoying every advantage of a maritime city, and can furnish many sailors. The three great ports for military armaments and ship-building are Spezia, on the Ligurian sea; Taranto, on the Ionian sea; and Venice, on the Adriatic. Italy possesses everything necessary, such as wood, hemp for ropes, and all which is required in general for naval architecture; Spezia is the finest port in the world; its road is superior even to that of Toulon; the defence of it by sea and land would be easy. The projects suggested under the empire, and of which the execution had been commenced, clearly proved that, at a moderate expense, the maritime establishment could be put into an efficient state, and would render it a place capable of great resistance. Its docks would be well situated for receiving wood from Corsica, Liguria, and Tuscany, and iron from the Isle of Elba, the Alps and the Apennines. Its squadrons would have dominion over the seas of Corsica and Sardinia, and would have places of refuge in the roads of Porto Ferrajo, Santo Piero, Sardinia, Vado, and Villa Franca. Taranto is wonderfully well situated for overawing Sicily, Greece, the Levant, and the coasts of Egypt and of Syria. Under the empire, some works were executed for its fortifica-

tion by land, and for its maritime establishment; the greatest of them are quite sheltered from the winds, and secure from the attack even of a superior enemy. At Venice, everything necessary is to be found; the Venetians only had vessels drawing eighteen feet of water; but under the empire, a great number of vessels, on the model of a French 74-gun ship, left their docks, and fought gloriously, a few instants after being launched. A commission of engineers for the construction of bridges and causeways, presided over by Proni, had arranged a plan, which, by means of some millions of money and some years of labour, would enable vessels to leave the harbour completely equipped, without the help of floating butts. Sicily, Malta, Corfu, Istria, Dalmatia, and more especially Ragusa, possess ports and places of refuge for the largest squadrons. The ports of Genoa, Castelamare, Bari, and Ancona, which vessels of the largest size can enter, might be reserved, as four secondary ports, either for the building, arming and repairing, or re-victualling of small squadrons. Italy, even reckoning at a period of decay, can raise and maintain for the naval service 120,000 sailors. The fleets of Genoa, of Pisa, and of Venice, were celebrated during many centuries. Italy can keep up an establishment of between 300 and 400 ships of war, including 100 or 120 ships of the line of 74 guns; her flag could contend with advantage against those of France, Spain, Constantinople, and the four barbarian powers.

The King of Sardinia possessed Savoy, the county of Nice, Piedmont, and Montferrat. Savoy and the county of Nice had been taken from him in the campaigns of 1792, 1793, 1794, and 1795; and the French army occupied the upper range of the Alps. Piedmont and Montferrat, situated between the Ticino, the States of Parma, the republic of Genoa, and the Alps, contained a population of 2,000,000 souls; which, with the 500,000 of Sardinia, and the 400,000 of Savoy, and the county of Nice, raised the number of his subjects to about 3,000,000. In a time of peace, the King of Sardinia kept 25,000 men under arms; he had twenty-five millions of revenue. At the opening of the campaign of 1796, he had, by means of subsidies from England, and by extraordinary efforts, increased the number of his troops to 60,000 men trained to service by a long continued war. The fortresses of Brunetta, Susa, Fenestrelles, Bard, Tortona, Cherasco, Alessandria, and Turin, were in good order, well armed and amply provisioned; these fortresses, situated at the defiles of all the mountains, put this frontier in a state that might be considered impregnable.

The republic of Genoa, in the middle of Piedmont, is bounded by the rivers of Piedmont, which give it thirty leagues of coast, and by its eastern coast, which gives it twenty-five leagues, and it contains 500,000 inhabitants. It only keeps between 3,000 and 4,000 men under arms; but in cases of necessity, all the Genoese

citizens become soldiers, and between 8,000 and 10,000 troops from the imperial feofs and the valleys of Fontabana are enrolled for the defence of the capital.

The city of Genoa is very well fortified; it covers an extent of four leagues, but only few points are assailable. The little fortress of Gavi defends the defile of La Bochetta.

The republic of Lucca is a little country which extends along the Tuscan sea, having a population of 140,000 souls, and 2,000,000 of revenue.

The Duchy of Parma, Piacenza and Guastalla reckoned 500,000 inhabitants; it borders upon the republic of Genoa, the Po, and the state of Modena: its military force was 3,000 men, and its revenue 4,000,000.

Austrian Lombardy, separated from the dominions of the King of Sardinia by the Ticino, from Switzerland by the Alps, from the Duchy of Parma by the Po, and touching, at the east, upon the states of the republic of Venice, formed a population of 1,200,000 souls. Milan was the capital, and had a fortress in a good state of defence.

The part of Italy belonging to Austria kept up no military force, and even paid a sum of money in order to be exempt from the levying of troops. Austria had only one Italian regiment, that of Stratoldo. Pavia, Milan, Como, Lodi, Cremona, and Mantua, formed the sub-division of Austrian Lombardy; the fortifications of Pizzighettone, on the Adda, were in a

bad condition; Mantua, although neglected, was a good position.

The republic of Venice had, on the west, Austrian Lombardy; on the north, the Carnic Alps, which separated it from the Tyrol and Carinthia; on the east, Carinthia, Carniola and Dalmatia. The population amounted to 3,000,000 souls: she could raise 50,000 troops, and her fleet ruled the Adriatic. She had thirteen regiments of Sclavonians, excellent soldiers. Her dominions comprehended Bergamo, Brescia, Cremona, Polesina, Verona, Vicenza, Padua, Bassano, and Friuli, on the right bank of the Isonzo; and Istria and Dalmatia on the shores of the Adriatic.

The Duchy of Modena comprehended Reggio, Modena, and Mirandola, and was bounded by the Po, the Duchy of Parma, the Legation of Bologna, and the Tuscan Apennines. It was governed by the last branch of the House of Este, whose daughter and heiress was the wife of the Arch-duke Ferdinand of Austria. The Duke of Modena was an Austrian; his military establishment consisted of 6,000 men; he possessed an arsenal, a depôt of artillery, and a considerable treasure: the population of his dominions amounted to 400,000 souls.

Tuscany, bounded by the Mediterranean, the Apennines, the republics of Genoa and of Lucca, and the Papal dominions, had a population of 1,000,000. It was governed by the Arch-Duke Ferdinand, brother of the Emperor of Austria; his military force consisted of 6,000 men, his revenue of 15,000,000 francs, and

his port of Livorno was a place of great commerce. The Grand Duke of Tuscany had recognised the French republic in 1795; he remained neuter, and was at peace with France.

The Papal dominions were bounded by the Po, Tuscany, the Adriatic, the Mediterranean and the Kingdom of Naples. They contained a population of 2,500,000 souls; of which the legations of Bologna, Ferrara and Romagna counted 900,000; the marches and the patrimony of St. Peter, including Rome, 1,600,000. The port of Ancona, on the Adriatic, had but a bad fortress; Civita Vecchia, however, in the Mediterranean, was regularly fortified. The Pope maintained between 4,000 and 5,000 troops.

The Kingdom of Naples, bounded by the states of the Pope and by the Sea, contained a population of 6,000,000, of whom 4,500,000 dwelt on the Continent, and 1,500,000 in Sicily. The Neapolitan army consisted of 60,000 men. The cavalry was excellent: the marine consisted of three ships of the line, and some frigates.

Corsica has been subject to France since the middle of the last century, having previously belonged to the English: its population was 180,000 souls.

The Isle of Malta had a population of 100,000 souls, and belonged to the order of St. John of Jerusalem.

Thus, the military strength of the Italian governments might be reckoned at 160,000 men under arms, and in a short time it could be easily increased to

300,000. The Italian army was much stronger in infantry than in cavalry; all the latter which were not from Piedmont or from Sclavonia being of little value.

The whole organization of Italy was provisional. Napoleon was anxious to make of this great peninsula one single kingdom; and it was in consequence of this desire, that he reserved to himself the iron crown, in order to be able to keep in his own hands the direction of the different states of Italy. He thought it better to unite Rome, Genoa, Tuscany and Piedmont to the empire, than to join them to the Kingdom of Italy; because the people preferred it, and also because the imperial influence would there be stronger; it would be a means of attracting into France a great number of the inhabitants of these countries, and of sending there in exchange an equal number of Frenchmen; we could enlist the soldiers and sailors of these provinces for the French regiments, or for the fleets of Toulon.

With Naples alone it would be necessary to pursue a different course, and to give to the provisional government which had been established there an appearance of stability. That important city was accustomed to enjoy great independence; Ferdinand was in Sicily, and the English squadron hovered on the coasts of Naples. But when the moment arrived for the proclamation of all Italy as one kingdom, and of the coronation at Rome, as its king, of the second son, which Napoleon hoped for from his marriage with the Arch-Duchess Marie-Louise, the Italians of Sicily, Sardinia, Naples, Venice, Genoa, Piedmont, Tuscany,

and Milan, would press with enthusiasm around the throne of ancient and noble Italy. Napoleon had not disposed of the Grand Duchy of Berg; his intention was to bestow it on Joachim, when he should have left Naples.

Peace once signed in Moscow, the war in Russia would be the last continental war of the reign of Napoleon; as regarded the great cause of the people, it would be the termination of danger and the beginning of security. A new era would open, and new works be commenced for the well-being and prosperity of all. The European system being founded, there would only be to consider of its organization. The cause of the age would be gained, and the revolution accomplished. Napoleon would be the arch of the ancient and new alliance, the natural mediator between the old and new order of things. Not having identified himself with either, he would belong to both, and would conscientiously support the cause of each in a general congress, where everything would be organized for the European continent, in the wisely-combined interest of the people and their governments. His glory would consist in his equity. Europe would, in future, be really only one combination of all the people who inhabit it.

When this great work was finished, he would associate his son with him in the empire; his reign as Dictator would terminate, and a freely constitutional reign would commence. He meant to found a royal institution at Meudan for the education of the King of

Rome, and his project was to educate there together all the princes of his family, particularly of those branches of it which he had placed on foreign thrones, in order to join the advantages of private and public education. Destined to reign over different nations, these children would have acquired, during the course of their education in common, similar manners, principles, and ideas; and in order the better to facilitate the fusion of the federative pactions of the Empire, each of these princes should have taken with him, on his leaving the institution, ten or twelve young persons of his own age, and of the first families of his adopted country; and the effect of this would have been immense.

PARAGRAPHS.—1. Policy of Napoleon after the retreat from Russia.—2. The Cabinet of Vienna.—3. M. de Bubna at Dresden.—4. Armistice of Plesswitz.—5. Napoleon's opinion on his position.—6. Negotiations of Dresden with M. de Metternich.—7. Congress of Prague.—8. Overtures of Frankfort.—9. Napoleon and the French Chambers.—10. Congress of Chatillon, 1st period.—11. Armistice of Lusigni.—12. Congress of Chatillon, 2nd period.—13. Napoleon always wished for peace.—14. Napoleon and the continental system.

§ 1.

Napoleon always wished for peace after a victory; he never wished for it after a defeat, because a nation

can more easily supply the loss of men than the loss of honour. It was with this feeling that he offered peace anew from his head-quarters at Moscow, and that after the disasters of the retreat from Russia, and the treachery of the Prussian army, he took no steps for putting an end to the war. But after the victories of Lutzen and of Bautzen, when the King of Saxony had been brought back in triumph to his capital, and the enemy had been driven from Hamburg; when a division of the French army threatened Berlin, and the head-quarters of the French were at Breslau; when, in short, the Russian and Prussian armies had been defeated in three battles, and driven back to the right bank of the Oder, he listened to an overture from the cabinet of Vienna, which offered its mediation towards a general peace, and sent the Duke of Vicenza to the Emperor Alexander as the bearer of a pacific message. However, if Napoleon had continued his pursuit of an enemy, who, having been beaten in three successive battles, had no longer any other hope of safety than in a retreat behind the Vistula, or, perhaps, even behind the Niemen, the coalition would have been once more conquered and dissolved, for Austria would never have ventured openly to break her alliance with France, at a moment when the field of battle was again found beyond the Oder.

§ 2.

On the 3rd of January, 1813, M. de Metternich said to the French ambassador at Vienna—"Tell us

frankly what you wish us to do, and put us in the position *to act towards you as a good ally*, and towards others as an independent power. Believe me, we are aware of the meaning of the alliance, and we can render you essential service."

The 8th of January, 1813—"Believe what I tell you: we have a thousand means of knowing what passes. Cajoled by all your enemies, we learn from one what another had concealed from us; and we have the means of comparing these different statements, so that the truth cannot escape us. For the rest, we shall not have any direct relations with England until we are authorized by you to do so; and we shall put them in such form as you may deem suitable to you, preserving, however, the attitude of a power acting independently. What do you risk? We shall compromise the English ministers with the nation, and we shall take on us all the blame of failure.

"Notwithstanding your late reverses, your position is still most brilliant. It is not the Emperor Napoleon who most requires peace. If he is unwilling to act on the offensive, there is nothing to prevent his remaining a year, or even two years on the Vistula; the Russians will never be able to get over this barrier; you can easily preserve the same attitude which you had before the war; but Germany, Prussia, Poland, and, above all, Austria, would suffer from this state of things. It is natural, then, that we should raise our voices, and loudly demand peace. As soon as

ever we are acquainted with the Emperor's views we shall take them into consideration; for he alone is intact—he alone is in a position to dictate peace. Let him place entire confidence in us; let him speak to us with sincerity, and we will answer in the same manner."

On the 11th of January—"We appreciate your immense resources; we know what you have done, and what you can do. Besides the seven millions sterling which England gives to Russia, she offers us ten millions if we change our system. We have rejected the offer with contempt, although our finances are in the most ruinous state. Our custom-house dues are at present our principal revenue, and we are threatened with the loss of that lucrative branch of our finances, if you do not renounce your system of excluding colonial produce."

On the 21st of January—"We are sending M. de Wissemberg to London, as the bearer of a letter to Lord Castlereagh, informing the English minister that Austria, touched by the calamities which oppress Europe, has conceived the design of labouring for the re-establishment of peace; that on this important point she has sounded the dispositions of France, which she finds favourable to her views; and that, in consequence of this, she has taken the same step with regard to Great Britain; that being, of all the European powers, the one least interested in the eventual conditions of a general peace, and the one which suffers the least from the actual state of things, she thinks

she is in a position to inspire sufficient confidence to render her intentions acceptable; that M. de Wissemberg is charged to possess himself of the views of the British government on this subject; and that his mission shall be secret as long as the minister desires to conceal it from the public.

"Should M. de Wissemberg be asked what are the wishes of France, he will reply, that he is no further acquainted with them, than inasmuch as she has consented to treat, and has offered to Lord Castlereagh conditions, which have been published in the 'Times;' that his own mission is purely Austrian, and has no other end than to facilitate conferences, and put an end to the agitations of Europe; that if the efforts of Austria produce no effect, she will consider herself obliged, guided by the same sentiments, to labour *without England*, for a general pacification of the Continent—an event which would leave at the disposition of France a force of more than 500,000 men, whom she could employ solely for the re-establishment of a maritime peace, and for her operations in Spain; that Austria is the only continental power which is completely a stranger to the commerce of the sea; that she values nothing so highly as the tranquillity of the Continent; and that maritime affairs will be settled without the intervention of England, if she neglects the present moment. M. de Wissemberg may be asked what Austria means by *a general pacification of the Continent*, and he will reply, that it is not an ordinary peace, but an unanimous convention of the

European powers, *firmly to maintain* peace, and not to intermeddle in any way in the dissensions which may subsist between France and England. M. de Wissemberg will be very careful to use no menacing language towards the English minister; but he may vaguely insinuate that such a general pacification may possibly be followed by a total exclusion of English merchandise."

On the 26th of January, 1813, he gives an account of his conversation with Count Stokelberg: "You are like a man who sees the daylight for the first time, after having been shut up for six months in a dark chamber. The glare of light dazzles your eyes. Believe me, we see more clearly, and shall not concur in any project which does not suit our views. The system of the Emperor is immovable; and so far from seeking his own aggrandisement—which would be too dearly purchased even by one campaign—he desires nothing but peace, and proposes to you to concur in it. On this subject we have already sounded the dispositions of France, and found them favourable to our views. We do not complain of our losses; and we do not think that a foreign cabinet has any right to resent them more than ourselves. I have requested this interview, in order to learn the intentions of your court with regard to peace, which is the sole object of our efforts.

"These first advances of Russia are a great thing gained; count upon us: we shall relax nothing—absolutely nothing; for we are as much interested as you

are. Everything depends on our attitude. The Emperor has given orders to put in motion one hundred thousand men, including the auxiliaries. When we have added 30,000 men to this corps, we shall have exceeded the obligations imposed by our treaty, and authorized Russia to refuse our intervention. Hitherto the war has not been *Austrian*. Should it in the end become so, it will not be with 30,000 men, but with all the forces of the monarchy that we shall attack Russia. Meantime, they will look with anxiety at the increase of our troops in Gallicia, and will be very careful not to provoke us."

On the 15th of February, 1813—"Your alliance with Russia was monstrous; it had only one support, and that a very precarious one, the exclusion of English merchandise. It was a warlike alliance, insisted on by the conqueror; it must necessarily be dissolved. Ours, on the contrary, is founded on relations and interests the most essentially salutary: it ought to be eternal as the wants which have produced it. We sought for it, and reflected well before we concluded it. If it were to do again, we would have it drawn up exactly as it is: we wish to keep it untouched; it will lead us to peace, which it will serve in the end to consolidate.

"Prince Schwartzenberg arrived yesterday, and he is to set out without delay for Paris, with the twofold object of informing his Majesty of the actual position of things, and of giving to Europe an incontrovertible proof of the dispositions of Austria. By sending to

the court of France the commander of the auxiliary troops, to see his chief, and take his orders from him, we show that we think it important to avail ourselves of every proper means to convince the courts of London and Petersburg of the intimate agreement which subsists between France and Austria."

On the 17th of February, 1813, communicating an imperial edict for the recruitment of the Austrian army: "This kind of declaration is not a political manifesto; it is purely administrative; but it may produce a very good effect in Russia and in England. In demanding new sacrifices from the nation, it is important to reassure it upon two essential points; one, that our system of alliance is not to be shaken; the other, that we shall not arm, except for the purpose of arriving at a general pacification.

"We should have deferred the publication of this document, if we had not had reason to suppose that the Emperor of the French would express himself in the same manner, in his speech, on the opening of the legislative body. In that case, our conduct would have the appearance of being dictated by you, whereas, in order to be efficacious amongst us, it must have the characteristics of a spontaneous act. These words, '*after having definitively fixed her political relations*,' express everything, without weakening the means of intervention which his Majesty proposes to employ. You are aware that it was in Russia only that *we made efforts* to prevent the war; there was no need for it as regards you. Russia will understand us, but

she will find nothing offensive in that expression. She will also comprehend the signification of the phrase which concludes the document, when a desire is shown to remove the theatre of war far from our frontiers."

The Austrian minister explained, that he only sought to establish by degrees complete agreement and confidence between the two cabinets; that the idea of an *armed mediation* had caused some surprise in Paris for a short time; but that the word "*mediation*," of which the value was not perfectly understood in the cabinet of Vienna, had never been pronounced by him, and that he had even forbidden Count Bubna and M. Floret to employ it; that France had made use of it first. That, on the contrary, it was an *intervention* that was thought of—the intervention of an ally, which, tired of the disturbances of war, desired to hasten its conclusion; that the idea of an armed mediation would be entirely wide of the question as regarded England, Austria having no means of attacking that power. "Our alliance with France," added he, "is *so necessary to us, that if you break it to-day, we should propose to-morrow to re-establish it on precisely the same conditions.* France has done us much injury, but it is for our interest that we should forget the past. We wish to be useful to her just now, because she can, at some other time, render us the same service. This alliance has not been the result of war, nor a condition of peace, like that of Tilsit; it is the consequence of mature reflection, and has been brought about by gradual and spontaneous communion. Weigh

these things well, and consider as an incontestable truth, that we seek only your good; that we have no longer any fear of France, but of Russia, whose power you have augmented by your repeated concessions."

M. de Metternich entered, on all occasions, upon long discussions, to demonstrate that Austria has need of France to enable her to recover herself; that she is guided just now entirely by her own interest, from which, after the alliance concluded by Prince Kaunitz, she ought never to have departed; that she asks for nothing but peace, and in negotiating it, is in nowise disposed to favour Russia, her natural enemy; that the balance of power in Europe, of which many writers have lately endeavoured to prove the inutility, is by no means a mere chimera, but is founded essentially in the nature of those ties of interest which exist between different nations, and will always be the basis of their policy; that on one side France, Austria, and the Ottoman Porte, on the other Russia and England, hang in the scales of this balance; that notwithstanding this apparent equilibrium, France will always preserve that preponderance which belongs to her position, and to her inexhaustible riches; that this preponderance is a fact of which no person could have any doubt, even under her last kings, but that it has become a cause of jealousy when, after a series of the most astonishing successes, France seemed to wish to establish it *as a right;* that during this victorious progress of the French armies, Russia had made gigantic strides towards domination, and had accom-

plished her ends by the most insinuating means; that having acquired a more extended territory than France, she had so well disguised her ambition, that, far from hating, the people had the air of being indebted to her for her encroachment; but that France, when at peace, will put an end to this temporary importance of the Russians, and will resume the ascendancy which her power, her pecuniary resources, and her moderation, ought to secure to her for ever. In a word, that peace alone will be, as regards France and her ally, Austria, a conquest much more solid, than any procured by the most fortunate campaign.

On the 8th of March, 1813—"Russia accepts not only the Austrian plenipotentiary, but also his intervention for the procurement of peace. The Emperor of Russia regrets that Austria has not wished to profit by this favourable conjuncture, to recover her losses; but he respects her motives, and has no other object in view than the re-establishment of the tranquillity of Europe, and the conclusion of a general peace. The political system of Austria being definitively fixed, Russia will not take any steps to detach her from it."

The Austrian ministry asserted, however, that Russia was endeavouring earnestly to draw Austria into an alliance with her, but declared that such endeavours should not succeed.

Many circumstances belied the protestations of the cabinet of Vienna; but as Napoleon said, the fate of a battle is the result of an instant, an accident can overthrow the most certain combinations! He re-

called M. Otto, a man of merit and highly esteemed, but who, not being of noble birth, could have only official relations with the court of Vienna. He replaced him by the Count de Narbonne, who had been minister of war under Louis XVI., and who, by his high birth, could have the *entrée* to the boudoirs of the aristocracy of Vienna. In fact, in less than a fortnight M. de Narbonne penetrated the most secret thoughts of M. de Metternich, and forced him to change his language.

The treaty of 1813, was no longer in existence; it had been annulled by events; the conduct of the Emperor of Austria had been modified by the force of circumstances, and by the necessities of the Austrian interest. How all-powerful is fate! The penetration of the ambassador had, perhaps, a fatal influence on the destinies of the empire, for Austria, seeing that her plans were discovered, was not so slow in her defection. Who can tell what might have happened, what fortunate chances might have offered, if Napoleon had had but a month longer to prepare for that campaign, in which France was about to contend alone with the whole of Europe, with those so lately her allies, and with her own children!

On the 26th of April, M. de Metternich replied to a verbal message of the 7th of April, by which the French ambassador declared, "In these circumstances, as Austria has put herself so forward to procure peace, and as she so much desires it, she ought for that purpose to take a decided part, insist upon the

opening of negotiations, and enter on the struggle as a principal party. In the beginning of May, when the Emperor of the French, in person, shall be on the right bank of the Elbe with 300,000 men, Austria could reinforce the army of Cracow, and increase it with the troops of Prince Poniatowski, to more than 150,000 men; these movements taking place in April, the concentrated army could take up a defensive position, but would be ready to act on the offensive. A body of between thirty and forty thousand men could assemble in Bohemia, and on the Emperor's arrival at the head of the army on the Elbe, the Austrian minister could communicate his declaration to the Emperor Alexander; the army of Cracow would renounce the armistice, and the troops in Bohemia would leave their cantonments, &c. The military resources of Austria ought to amount to 100,000 men for the army in Silesia, and between thirty and fifty thousand for that of Cracow, the remainder to be at the disposition of France in Bukovina and Gallicia."

M. de Metternich replied, "His Imperial, Royal and Apostolic Majesty decided upon taking the attitude of an *armed mediation*, as the only one which the two imperial courts considered to be consistent with the actual state of things; but that, at the same time, his Imperial Majesty declared that if, contrary to his dearest wishes, his efforts should not be crowned by the return of peace, Austria, on account of her position as a mediating power, and of the geogra-

phical situation of her empire, cannot in future take part in the war simply in the quality of an auxiliary; and, consequently, that the stipulation for supplies arranged by the treaty of alliance of the 14th of March, 1812, *ceased to be applicable to the present conjuncture of affairs.*"

Although the Emperor was far from thinking that this determination, the result as much of the force of circumstances as of the views and desires of the Emperor Napoleon, could be considered as an abandonment of the alliance between the two imperial courts, yet his Imperial Majesty thought it well to command his ambassadors to add a declaration, *that this proceeding should not, in any way, prejudice the basis of our alliance with France.*" And he added, "The undersigned, in transmitting this to M. the Count de Narbonne, is expressly charged to reiterate to his excellency the assurances which he received verbally in his last audience with the Emperor, of the unalterable nature of his Imperial Majesty's sentiments towards his excellency's august master."

An unforeseen circumstance completely removed the mask under which the cabinet of Vienna concealed the rancour of its sentiments towards France: the scouts of the advanced guard intercepted a courier who was bearing despatches from Count Stokelberg, the Russian ambassador at Vienna. It was no longer possible to entertain any doubt: Austria was seeking to paralyze the efforts which France expected from the confederation of the Rhine, and even from Naples, and was

negotiating her defection with Prussia and Russia. On his side, the Duke of Bassano gave an account of a conversation with Prince Schwartzenberg, in which that ambassador had become warm on the subject of politics, and the Duke had spoken to him of the family ties which the negotiators of the marriage of the Empress Marie Louise had succeeded in forming between the two nations: "Ah! the marriage!" cried the Prince Schwartzenberg—"the marriage! policy led to it, but it does not make any engagements as regards the future."

The Duke of Bassano wrote at the same time as follows:—"The news of the brilliant success which announced to Europe that your Majesty had arrived at the head of your army, has produced the greatest sensation here. The members of the diplomatic body, whom I have just seen, one after the other, appear to be not less astonished at the manner in which the public mind is affected than at the victory itself. Count Wintzengerode, General Waltendorff, and Baron Just, are at this moment sending off couriers to their different courts; what they write will no doubt differ very much from their incessant demands for some months past. The clamours of the malevolent, the silence of the doubtful, and the anxiety of the devoted, have been succeeded by transports of joy and hope; but, whereas during the campaigns which preceded the last, men sought in success only a presage and earnest of fresh glory, now, when confidence is shaken, and questions so grave must be determined on the field of

battle, they only consider it as a pledge given by fortune for repose and peace.

"*The moment is come when every Frenchman possessed of honour must conquer or die.* I cannot venture to think that these words, placed in the mouth of General Gouré, have been the expression of a sentiment which would lead your Majesty to be careless of your life. They would carry terror into every heart; and permit me also, sire, to tell you, that they would be ill-calculated, in other respects, to calm the public mind. The question as regards France can never be reduced to so small a compass; nations cannot be placed in such an alternative; they never die, and they become weary of the necessity of always conquering.

"You have conquered. The recent victory has effaced the impression made by those disasters which had, however, subtracted nothing from your glory. The moderation which is apparent in your resolutions, but which would have appeared undignified after a reverse, can never in future be blamed; and peace, the sole wish, and the pressing want, of France, whatever you may just now sacrifice for its attainment, will always be looked on as a glorious peace."

§ 3.

The arrival of M. de Bubna at Dresden immediately neutralized the impression produced by these despatches. He brought a letter from the Emperor

Francis, containing these very words:—"The mediator is the friend of your Majesty; I am anxious that your dynasty should be fixed on an immovable foundation, considering that the existence of it is involved in that of my own." M. de Bubna, however, could not reply directly to some questions of the Emperor Napoleon; he alleged his want of instructions and of powers; and in spite of all his conciliatory protestations, his own noble character soon made it evident that he himself had but little confidence in the sincerity of the words of which he was the bearer. Austria demanded, as the price of her mediation, the restitution of the Illyrian provinces; an increase of territory at the expense of Poland, to restore her frontier in Gallicia; the restitution of the Tyrol; and to conclude, the dissolution of the confederation of the Rhine. The Emperor of the French returned an answer of as great a degree of precision, as the letter of his father-in-law contained duplicity of protestation: he said to M. de Bubna, "Write to the Emperor that I restore to him his *parole*, and that he is at perfect liberty to renounce my alliance; that I shall not be at all wounded by it, and should only feel so, should his cabinet persist in a system of irresolution and of *mezzo termine*, the ordinary resource of weakness or of insincerity. I accept the suggestion of a congress at Prague, under the mediation of Austria, and with the understanding that she will guarantee to me the integrity of the French territory; reserving it to myself to appropriate

such provinces as are beyond the natural limits of France, as compensation for the securing of a general peace."

M. de Bubna then owned that he was not invested alone with the confidence of his master in the mission which he was just then fulfilling, and that he was obliged to communicate with the Count de Stadion, who was at the head-quarters of the allies; but he showed the following letter which he wrote to him: "I have the honour to announce to your excellency that I arrived at Dresden on the afternoon of the day before yesterday, the 16th of May, and found here his Majesty the Emperor of the French. It is very agreeable to me to be able to inform your excellency that, notwithstanding the success which has just attended his arms, the Emperor of the French appears to me to be disposed for peace, and willing that the plenipotentiaries whom the belligerent powers may think proper to name should meet immediately at Prague, or any other place between the rendezvous of the troops of the said powers. Under the conviction that your excellency will have met with the same dispositions in their Majesties the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia, I hasten to urge you, Monsieur, to do all you possibly can for arranging and accelerating the departure of the plenipotentiaries for the place appointed for the congress. His Majesty appears to me to be of the same opinion as the allies, in regarding a general peace as the means of really tranquillizing the world. He would, therefore, be

pleased to see plenipotentiaries from England and America. He would even consent to admit one from the insurgent Spaniards, if that was thought likely to influence England. His Majesty seems to me to be equally well inclined towards a continental peace, and consequently, to send plenipotentiaries himself as well as his allies, as soon as he knows the inclination of Russia and Prussia.

"The congress once assembled, should the belligerent powers wish to conclude an armistice, or a suspension of arms, I think the Emperor would also be willing to concur in it.

"Having the honour to inform your excellency of these dispositions of the Emperor of the French and King of Italy, I think that you will suggest to the allied Sovereigns that if they find such an armistice convenient to them, they will give direction that the overtures made in such cases may be made to the advanced posts of the French."

M. de Bubna immediately set out in order personally to give an account of his long and important conference, and with the hope of impressing M. de Metternich with his own convictions of the sincerity of the Emperor Napoleon in his desire for peace. The autograph reply, which he bore with him, contained these remarkable words: "In common with every Frenchman of generous feeling, I would prefer dying with arms in my hands to submission, should it be contemplated to dictate to me conditions which French honour must refuse. I repeat that I

desire peace, but that it must be a peace honourable for all parties."

§ 4.

A few hours after the departure of M. de Bubna, the Emperor quitted Dresden, in order to rejoin the army, then encamped in front of the enemy's forces, who had retired, and entrenched themselves at the village of Hochkirch, a place rendered celebrated by the wars of the great Frederick, and which gave to the Allies a good position in front of the Oder. The expected reinforcements had arrived to both parties, and a great battle appeared imminent. All the Emperor's measures were so taken as to secure the victory, yet he still thought that peace was certain if the Congress of Prague took place; he therefore wished to wait for the return of M. de Bubna, and avoid a new and useless effusion of blood. He sent the Duke of Vicenza to the head-quarters of the Allies, giving him the following instructions:—

"The Duke of Vicenza being resolved to try all means of establishing peace either general or continental, we have proposed the meeting of a congress either at Prague or at any other place lying between the belligerent armies. We hope that such a congress will promptly bring about a peace, the necessity of which is felt by so many nations. We have in consequence determined to conclude an armistice or suspension of arms with the Russian and Prussian troops during the meeting of the Congress.

"Wishing to prevent the battle, which from the position that the enemy has taken, appears imminent, and to save humanity from a useless effusion of blood: our intention is, that you go to the advanced posts, where you will ask to be admitted to the presence of the Emperor Alexander, in order to make the proposal to him, and negotiate, conclude, and sign any military agreement having for its end the suspension of hostilities. It is with this intention that we write to you this private letter, so that if you are required, you may produce it as investing you with full powers."

The allies thought themselves sure of the battle; they refused to see the Duke of Vicenza; and it was once more by dint of victory alone that Napoleon could get the enemies of France to listen to words of peace.

It was not until the 21st of May, and after two battles lost, that Count Nesselrode sent the following reply to the Duke of Vicenza.

"Sir,—His Majesty the Emperor has just heard of the arrival of your Excellency at the outposts; and although his Imperial Majesty would have much pleasure in receiving you, Sir, and in expressing to you the sentiments of respect which he continues to feel for you personally, yet he regrets that the circumstances in which he finds himself placed prevent his admitting you to his head-quarters. But I am commanded by him to request that you will transmit to him, by means of the Austrian cabinet, any communication with which your Excellency may be entrusted.

His Majesty the Emperor, having concurred in the offers of mediation of the court of Vienna, and made that court aware of the tendency of his actual efforts, and his manner of regarding such questions as might be agitated in the present situation of affairs, there is no other means by which it is possible for him to receive any overture which your court may wish to make to him."

At the same time Count Stadion, the Austrian Plenipotentiary at the head-quarters of the Emperor Alexander, wrote to the Prince of Neufchâtel, the Major-General of the French army, as follows:—

"Sir,—The General Count Bubna has informed me in a letter of the 18th of this month, of the intention which his Majesty the Emperor of the French has announced to him relative to the means of bringing about a negotiation for peace, and I have hastened to communicate it to the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia. Their Imperial and Royal Majesties, perceiving from the opinion which the Emperor Napoleon has given on this subject, that he thinks an armistice might prepare the way to such a negotiation, declare that they are quite disposed to make any arrangement which that object requires, and to send to the outposts officers furnished with powers.

As Count Bubna is not at this time with the Emperor of the French, I have thought it my duty to address myself to your highness, that you may be

possessed of the sentiments of the two sovereigns; I beg you will have the goodness to lay them before his Imperial and Royal Majesty.

"I shall think myself only too happy, if these the first words which I have the honour of being the means of forwarding to the powers at war, should be soon followed by others which will open the way to a state of peace, the ardent desire of my august master."

The negotiation about the armistice lasted several days; the Allies insisted that the French army should repass the Elbe, and evacuate Hamburg; no agreement could be come to; and hostilities would indubitably have continued, if one single obstacle had impeded the triumphant march of the French troops to Breslau, which was occupied on the 1st of June; and on the 4th, the commissioners of the belligerent powers signed the following convention at Plesswitz.

"This day, 23rd of May (4th June), the following plenipotentiaries are named by the belligerent powers:

"The Duke of Vicenza, first Master of the Horse, General of Division, &c. &c.,—the plenipotentiary named by his Majesty the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, Protector of the Swiss Confederation, &c.,—furnished with full powers by his Serene Highness the Prince of Neufchâtel, Vice-Constable, Major-General in the army.

"Count Schouwaloff, Lieutenant-General, Aide-de-camp of his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, Grand Cross of the Order of Voldimia of the second class, &c. &c.

" And M. Kleist, Lieutenant-General in the service of his Majesty the King of Prussia, Grand Cross of the Red Eagle of Prussia, &c. &c.,—being furnished with full powers by his Excellency, the General of Infantry, Barclay de Tolly, Commander-in-Chief of the combined powers; after having exchanged their full powers at Goebersdorf, on the 20th of May (1st of June), and signed a suspension of arms for thirty-six hours, and having met again at the village of Plesswitz, neutralized for that purpose between the advanced posts of the belligerent armies, wherever they may be placed, have agreed to the following articles:—

" Art. 1. Hostilities shall cease in every quarter, at the ratification of this present armistice.

" Art. 2. The armistice shall continue till the 8th of July (July 20th), inclusive, besides six days for the proclamation of its expiration.

" Art. 3. Hostilities cannot, consequently, recommence until six days after the cessation of the armistice has been proclaimed at the head-quarters of the respective parties.

" Art. 4. The line of demarcation between the belligerent armies is fixed in the following manner:

" In Silesia, the line of demarcation of the French army, commencing at the frontier touching on Bohemia, will pass by Seiffershau and Altraunitz, will then follow the course of the little river which falls into the Bober, not far from Bertelsdorf, and afterwards the Bober as far as Lahn; from thence by the

most direct line to Neukirch or the Katzbach, and so by the course of that river to its junction with the Oder.

" The towns of Parchwitz, Liegnitz, Goldberg, and Lahn, upon which side soever of the river they may be situated, may be occupied, as well as their suburbs, by the French troops.

" The line of demarcation of the combined army commencing in like manner at the Bohemian frontier, will pass by Dittersback, Pfaffendorf, and Landshut, will then follow the course of the Bober, as far as Rudelstadt, pass from thence by Bolkenhayn and Streigau, and join the Oder after passing by Beltlem, Oltashin and Althoff.

" The combined army may occupy the towns of Landshut, Rudelstadt, Bolkenhayn, Streigau, and Cautts, as well as their suburbs.

" All the territory lying between the lines of demarcation of the French and combined armies, will be neuter, and cannot be occupied by any troops, not even by the *Landsturm;* this arrangement will necessarily be applicable to the city of Breslau.

" From the mouth of the Katzbach, the line of demarcation will follow the course of the Oder to the frontiers of Saxony, then along the frontiers of Saxony and Prussia, and will join the Elbe, leaving the Oder not far from Mühlrose, and will then follow the frontiers of Prussia, so that the whole of Saxony, the territory of Dessau, and the small states bordering on the principalities belonging to the Confederation of

the Rhine, will belong to the French army and their allies; and the whole of Prussia, to the combined army.

" The portions of Prussia lying in Saxony shall be considered as neuter, and must not be occupied by any troops.

" The Elbe, to its embouchure, shall fix and terminate the line of demarcation between the belligerent armies, with the exception of the places hereinafter mentioned.

" The French army shall keep the islands, and all which it shall occupy in the 32nd military division at midnight of the 27th of May (June 8th).

" Should Hamburg be only in a state of siege, it shall be treated like other besieged towns. All the articles of this present armistice which are applicable to them, are so likewise to it.

" The line of outposts of the belligerent armies at midnight of the 27th of May (June 8th), shall form that of the demarcation of the armistice for the 32nd military division, with the exception of such military alterations as the respective commanders shall judge necessary: these alterations shall be made in concert, by an officer of the staff of each army, on the principle of the most perfect reciprocity.

" Art. 5. The fortresses of Dantzic, Modlin, Zamosck, Stettin, and Custrin, shall be re-victualled every five days, according to the amount of their garrisons, by the commanders of the blockading forces.

" A commissary named by the commandant of each

fortress shall remain with the commander of the besieging troops, in order to ascertain that the provisions stipulated for be strictly furnished.

" Art. 6. Whilst the armistice continues, each fortress shall have the radius of a French league outside its fortifications, which portion of ground shall be considered neuter. Magdeburg will, consequently, have its frontier, or a league, on the right bank of the Elbe.

" Art. 7. A French officer shall be dispatched to each besieged fortress to notify to its commandant the conclusion of the armistice and of the re-victualling of the place. A Russian or Prussian officer can accompany him on the journey, either on his going or returning.

" Art. 8. Commissaries named by both parties shall regulate the price of the provisions furnished to each fortress. The accounts, made up at the end of every month, by the commissaries charged with watching over the maintenance of the armistice, shall be paid at the head-quarters by the paymaster of the army.

" Art. 9. Officers of the staff shall be named on each side, to agree upon the alterations of the general line of demarcation upon such points as are not determined by a running water, and upon which any difficulties may arise.

" Art. 10. All the movements of the troops shall be so regulated that each army shall occupy its new line on the 31st of May (June 12th); and all divisions or portions of the combined army which may happen to

be beyond the Elbe or in Saxony, shall re-enter Prussia.

"Art. 11. Officers from the French and the combined armies shall be dispatched conjointly, to cause the cessation of hostilities at all points, by proclaiming the armistice; the respective commanders-in-chief furnishing them with the necessary powers.

"Art. 12. On each side, two commissaries shall be named, general officers, who shall watch over the execution of the stipulation of this armistice. They shall reside within the neutral line at Neumark, to determine such difficulties as may arise.

"The commissioners ought to go there within twenty-four hours, in order to hasten the officers and the orders which must be sent in virtue of the present armistice.

"Made and finished, the present act in twelve articles and in duplicate, on the day, month and year above written."

The armistice being signed, the Emperor returned to Dresden, where M. de Bubna was waiting for him; as also the President Kaas, sent by the King of Denmark, with whom the Duke of Bassano, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, signed without any difficulty a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, although the English fleet threatened Copenhagen with a second bombardment.

The suspension of hostilities gave the allies an opportunity of rallying their disorganized troops, and of rectifying their bad position; it stopped the progress

of the French army, and increased the difficulties of the garrisons in such places as were blockaded by the allies. In short, it gave time to General Benigsen's troops to arrive in line; and the Swedish troops were able to land at Stralsund, and advance as far as Wittenberg on the Elbe. The Emperor was quite aware of the advantages which his enemies obtained by the signature of the armistice; but he considered the sacrifice necessary for peace, which would be certain to follow if the mediation of Austria was sincere.

Happily for the honour of kings, the conduct of the cabinet of Vienna is without example in history.

M. de Bubna did not say anything very decisive about the dispositions of Austria; the object of his return to Dresden was, he said, to give consistency to the overtures of his cabinet to the belligerent powers, and to notify that Russia and Prussia accepted the mediation, but that England insisted on some extreme points as a preliminary; that she would not admit, as the bases of this negotiation, those which had served for the peace of Lunéville, thinking them too favourable for France; and that, on this account, Austria proposed not to occupy herself any more, just now, about a general peace, but to limit the conferences to the consideration of a continental peace. Russia and Prussia adhered to it, and were about to communicate to M. de Metternich the bases upon which they were ready to open conferences in whatever place the Emperor of Austria should choose, and under his mediation.

Such communications would have created astonish-

ment if it had been possible to entertain any doubt as to the disposition of the cabinet of Vienna; Napoleon, however, continued to believe that the after-thought of M. de Metternich was meant to cause the influence of the mediator to be more highly appreciated, and by acting this double part to obtain great advantages for the Austrian army. The arrival of the Emperor of Austria with his council at Gitschen, where he established himself between the two armies, gave weight to this opinion, which was soon apparently confirmed by the presence of M. de Metternich at Dresden.

§ 5.

The chiefs of the army loudly expressed their opinion of the necessity of peace. Some amongst them ventured to censure the measures which the Emperor's forethought induced him to take for fortifying the approaches to Dresden, and even to forward to him their complaints on the subject. "Austria," said they, "will open the passes into Bohemia to the allies, and we shall be surrounded; we shall be attacked in the rear and cut off from France. It would be much better to recal all our detached corps from the right bank of the Elbe, rally behind the Saale, then repass the Rhine, and abandon to the chances of war our garrisons on the Oder and the Vistula."

The Emperor listened good-humouredly and replied, —"Good God! I could make peace with the sacrifices which you propose to me for the better carrying on of war. Where is the prudence of this advice? Six

battles lost would scarcely reduce me to the position in which you want to place me forthwith! Undoubtedly, one should not rashly hazard one's line of operations; I know it; and it is the rule of good sense, and the A B C of the profession. But when great interests are involved, there are moments when one must sacrifice to victory, and not be afraid to burn the vessels. If the art of war was nothing else than the art of compromising nothing, glory would become the prey of very second-rate spirits. It is a complete triumph which we must achieve. The question is not about abandoning such or such a province; it is about our political superiority; our enemies wish to lower it, but, for us, our existence depends on it.

"You fear that I am acting foolishly by remaining in the heart of Germany. Was I not in a more hazardous position on the battle fields of Marengo, Austerlitz, and Wagram? From the day of the battle of Arcola until now, every step which I have taken in my career has been a bold venture of this kind; and in that respect I have followed the most illustrious examples. Did Alexander, did Hannibal, or Cæsar, think about their lines of retreat when the moment had arrived for combating for the empire of the world? And if Alexander had been beaten at the Indus; if Hannibal had not conquered at Cannes; if Cæsar had been defeated in the forests of Gaul, at the promontory of Dyrrachium, in the defiles of Pharsalia? If!

"In the campaign of 1805, I was likely to see all Prussia under arms; I was entangled in the very heart

of Moravia; my retreat across Germany was likely to become very difficult; but I conquered at Austerlitz!

"In 1806, at the moment when I was entering the defiles of Thuringia, Austria was advancing in my rear, and Spain was about to cross the Pyrenees; but I conquered at Jena!

"In 1809, at the time when I had to struggle against the Danube, on the confines of Hungary, with the Tyrol in insurrection behind me, and the English already advancing upon Antwerp,—when I had every reason to fear that Russia was going to abandon me, and when the whole of Prussia increased my difficulties; I was conqueror at Wagram! Should the enemy ever undertake to overwhelm me in Bohemia, it will be exactly with the hope of driving me to make those retrograde movements to which you advise me. But such a policy as that would inspire me with precisely the contrary resolution. I shall not be acting rashly, supported as I am by all the fortresses on the Elbe, and by Erfurt.

"Dresden is the pivot upon which I must manœuvre in order to face every attack. From Berlin to Prague, the enemy will be spread over a circumference of which I shall occupy the centre; every communication must necessarily be tedious for them, on account of the round which they will have to go, whilst as regards me, a few marches only will be sufficient to enable me to reach any point where my presence or my reserves may be required. *But it is absolutely necessary that at those points where I am not, my*

lieutenants should learn to wait for me, without committing any thing to chance. Will it be possible for the Allies to preserve their forces for any length of time in an unbroken body, whilst engaged in such extended operations? And may I not reasonably hope to surprise them sooner or later making some false movement?

" The enemy will throw some troops between the Elbe and the Rhine; I expect this; I have provided for it. Independently of the strong garrisons of Mayence, Wesel, Erfurt, and Würtzburg, Augereau is assembling a corps of observation on the Maine. But will the Allies wedge themselves between my two fortified lines of the Elbe and the Rhine? If they manifest such audacity, I shall enter Bohemia, and it will be my turn to attack them in the rear.

" Some Cossacks may, perhaps, insult our departments of the Rhine—that is possible; but war, with all its ruinous consequences, at Mayence, would be a much more serious misfortune.

" We must pardon the Saxons for their false reasoning against plans which may prolong the war on their territory. But whatever may be said by some among us, who are their echoes, it is in the plains of Saxony that the fate of Germany must be decided. I repeat it; the position which I wish to take up, offers me chances of such a nature, that even were the enemy to be victorious in ten engagements, they could scarcely succeed in driving me back to the Rhine; whilst, should I be victor in one single battle, we

should advance upon the enemy's capitals, and, relieving our garrisons on the Oder and the Vistula, force the allies to conclude a peace.

"Moreover, I have calculated everything; fate must do the rest. I know well, that I shall only be judged according to the event. To that I must submit, for such is the rigorous law of history."

The Emperor then turning round to where General Rogniat stood, said to him, smiling: "Construct for me fosses and palisades, and let your art second the activity of my marches, by multiplying on our route the means of attack and defence."

It was necessary to fight the battles of the Katzbach, that of Grosbeeren, the two battles of Dresden, the battle of Culm, those of Interlogn, Vachan, Robstadt, Leipsig, and at length that of Hanau, before the French army were brought back to the left bank of the Rhine.

There are two descriptions of plans of campaign; the good and the bad. The good sometimes miscarries from fortuitous circumstances; whilst the bad occasionally succeeds by a caprice of fortune.

§ 6.

Nothing could equal the activity of the Emperor in studying the difficulties of the fields of battle upon which events might lead him to fight, should hostilities re-commence; and, on the other hand, the conferences between the Duke of Bassano and M. de Metternich took place without any result, the latter still repeat-

ing, under every form, but without advancing a step in the negotiation, "That he was far from regarding the alliance between Austria and France as irreconcilable with mediation; that such alliance might be suspended, but could not be broken." The Duke of Bassano had orders to declare that the Emperor could only consider such expressions as an explicit renunciation of the alliance; that he wished for no alliance which could become burthensome to his ally, and that, consequently, he made no difficulty about destroying the treaty of 1812. Affairs were in this state, when an autograph letter from the Emperor of Austria to the Emperor, his son-in-law, was the occasion of the following conversation between the latter and M. de Metternich.

"Here you are, then, Metternich! You are welcome; but if you desire peace, why have you been so long coming? We have already lost a month, and your mediation is become almost hostile by reason of its being inactive. It seems, that it no longer suits you to guarantee the integrity of the French empire; be it so; but why did you not declare that to me sooner? Why could you not tell me so frankly, on my return from Russia, through Bubna, or, more recently by Schwartzenberg? Perhaps, I should have had sufficient time to modify my plans; perhaps even, I should not have entered on the campaign.

"In allowing me to exhaust my strength by new efforts, you reckoned, no doubt, upon events being somewhat less rapid. These bold efforts have been

crowned by victory. I gained two battles; my enemies, weakened by defeat, are about to recover from their delusion; suddenly you glide into the midst of us; you come to speak to me of armistice and mediation; you speak to them of alliance, and every thing is again embroiled. Were it not for your fatal intervention, peace would now be concluded between the allies and me.

"What have been, as yet, the results of the armistice? I know of no others except the two treaties of Reichenbach, which England has just obtained from Prussia and Russia. A treaty with a third power is also spoken of; but you have M. de Stadion on the spot, Metternich, and you must be better informed on that point than I am.

"Confess, now; since Austria has taken the part of mediator, she is no longer on my side; she is no longer impartial: she is my enemy! You were about to declare yourselves, when the victory of Lutzen stopped you. Seeing me again in a formidable condition, you felt the necessity of increasing your forces, and you wished to gain time.

"Now, your 200,000 men are ready; Schwartzenberg is in command of them; he is assembling them at this moment—near to this, there, behind the curtain of the mountains of Bohemia. And, because you think yourself in a position to dictate the law, you come to me! The law! And why wish to dictate it to me alone? Am I no longer he whom you defended yesterday? If you are a mediator, why do you not,

at least, hold the balance even? I see through you, Metternich, your cabinet wishes to profit by my embarassments and augment them as much as possible, in order to recover the whole or a part of what it has lost. The great question with you is to find out whether you can extort anything from me without fighting, or whether you must throw yourself decidedly into the ranks of my enemies: you do not yet well know which of the two parties can offer you the greatest advantages, and, perhaps, you have only come here the better to obtain that information. Very well; come, let us treat; I consent to it. What is it you wish for?"

This was a sudden attack; M. de Metternich threw himself in the way with a complete apparatus of diplomatic phrases. "The only advantage which the Emperor, my master, is desirous of gaining, is such an influence as would communicate to the cabinets of Europe that spirit of moderation, and that respect for the rights and possessions of independent states, by which he himself is animated. Austria wishes to establish an order of things, which, by means of a wise partition of forces, shall place the guarantee of peace under the ægis of an association of independent states." "Speak more plainly," said the Emperor, interrupting him, "and let us come to the object in view: you do not forget that I am a soldier, and know better how to break than to bend. I have proposed to you that Illyria shall remain neuter; will that suit you? my

army is quite sufficient to bring the Russians and the Prussians to reason; all that I ask from you is your neutrality." "Ah! sire!" replied M. de Metternich, with animation, "why will your Majesty remain alone in this struggle? why will you not double your troops? You can do so, sire; for it depends entirely upon yourself to dispose of ours. Yes; affairs are now arrived at such a point, that we can no longer remain neuter; we must be either for you or against you."

"But you wish not only for Illyria, but for the half of Italy, and for the return of the Pope to Rome! for Poland, and the abandonment of Spain! for Holland, and the confederation of the Rhine and Switzerland! *Is that what you call the spirit of moderation which animates you?* You are only thinking of how you may derive the greatest profit from every chance; you are only occupied in transporting your alliance from one camp to another, that you may be always on that side which has the most to divide; *and yet you come and speak to me about your respect for the rights of independent states!* In fact, you want Italy, Russia wants Poland, Sweden wants Norway, Prussia wants Saxony, and England wants Holland and Belgium. In short, your words about peace are nothing but a lure; you are all contemplating the dismemberment of the French empire; and in order to crown such an enterprise with success, Austria thinks that the only thing needful is for her to declare herself! You pretend that here, with a stroke of your pen, you can throw down the ramparts of Dantzic, Custrin,

Glogau, Magdeburg, Wesel, Mayence, Antwerp, Alexandria, Mantua—of all the strongest fortresses in Europe, the keys of which I have been able to obtain solely by force of victories! and I, with docile submission to your policy, must needs evacuate Germany, the half of which I still occupy, recall my legions in peaceful order behind the Rhine, the Alps, and the Pyrenees, and, subscribing to a treaty which would be nothing but a vast capitulation, give myself up, like a fool, to my enemies, and depend for a doubtful fortune on the generosity of the very same persons whose conqueror I now am! And it is when my colours are still displayed at the mouth of the Vistula, and on the banks of the Oder, when my triumphant army is at the gates of Berlin and Breslaü, when I am in person at the head of three hundred thousand men, it is *then* that Austria flatters herself that she shall get me to subscribe to such conditions, without striking a blow, without even drawing my sword—without drawing my sword! Such a proposal is an insult! And it is my father-in-law who entertains such an idea—it is he who sends you! In what a position does he wish to place me in the eyes of the French people! But he is strangely mistaken if he thinks that a mutilated sovereignty can be in France a safe refuge for his daughter and his grandson!—Ah, Metternich! how much has England given you to induce you thus to take part against me?"

At these last words, which escaped from him in the vehemence of his expressions, and which his prudence

regretted, the Emperor stopped; M. de Metternich changed colour; a profound silence succeeded to this storm of the thoroughly French soul of Napoleon, and he soon resumed his discourse, and said:—

"I am then much lowered in the opinion of your master, since, after three victories, he ventures to advise me to abandon provinces which are not even threatened. If I were to consent to such conditions in order to acquire the right to negotiate a peace, the crown of France would be broken in my hands. One may stop in ascending, but one never stops when descending. At the worst I shall still have the glory given by reverses."

M. de Metternich had recovered his composure; he no longer discussed anything, and agreed that the congress should be held at Prague, where the conferences should open on the 5th of July; he undertook to get the allies to accept the prolongation of the armistice till the 10th of August, and signed, with the Duke of Bassano, the following convention, before he quitted Dresden. It was, however, only too evident that sympathy with England was paramount in his mind, and that war would be its inevitable consequence.

"His Majesty the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, &c., and his Majesty the Emperor of Austria, &c., animated by an equal desire to procure the re-establishment of peace; and to this effect, his Majesty the Emperor of Austria having offered his mediation towards a general peace, or in default of

that, a continental peace, and his Majesty the Emperor of the French having shown an intention to accept of the said mediation, they have judged it proper to confirm the said offer and the said acceptance by a convention; in consequence of which, their said Majesties have named their plenipotentiaries—that is to say, for his Majesty the Emperor of the French, M. Hugh Bernard Count Maret, Duke of Bassano, &c.; and for his Majesty the Emperor of Austria, M. the Count Clement Wenceslas de Metternich Winnebourg-Ochsenhausen, Chevalier of the Golden Fleece, &c.—his Minister of Foreign Affairs—who, after having exchanged respectively their full powers, have agreed upon the following articles:—

"Art. 1. His Majesty the Emperor of Austria offers his mediation towards a general or continental peace.

"Art. 2. His Majesty the Emperor of the French accepts of the said mediation.

"Art. 3. The French, Russian, and Prussian plenipotentiaries shall meet before the 5th of July, in the city of Prague.

"Art. 4. Taking into consideration the insufficiency of the time which now remains till the 20th of July, the term fixed for the expiration of the armistice, by the convention signed at Plesswitz on the 4th of June, his Majesty the Emperor of the French engages not to break the said armistice before the 10th of August; and his Majesty the Emperor of Austria

undertakes to procure the consent of Russia and Prussia to the same engagement.

"Art. 5. The present convention is not to be made public; it shall be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged at Dresden, within the term of four days.

"Made and signed at Dresden, the 30th of June, 1813."

§ 7.

But scarcely had M. de Metternich arrived in Prague, when he gave notice that the congress could not open the conferences so soon as he had hoped. The Emperor named as his representatives at the congress, the Duke of Vicenza and Count Narbonne; the Duke of Broglie, auditor of the council of state, was named to accompany the mission, as secretary to the embassy. One circumstance in the choice of the plenipotentiaries of the allies shewed what their desire for peace was. Russia was represented at Prague by M. D'Anstedt, who had been one of the principal agents of the intrigues of England, in the relations of Russia towards Austria. This M. D'Anstedt was, besides, a French *emigré*. On the other hand, difficulties without number arose in the conferences at Neumark for the prolongation of the armistice; and it was not till the 26th of July that it was prolonged till the 10th of August, nearly a month after M. de Metternich had engaged to have the prolongation agreed to by the allies: this only left fourteen days to terminate negotiations which were hardly yet entered upon, and it was, therefore, evident that hostilities would have re-com-

menced before the plenipotentiaries had well begun to understand each other. The Emperor looked at it in this light, and prepared for the combat, with the hope that he would find in the field of battle a new chance for neutralizing the ill will of the allies.

Unfortunately, the news of the battle of Vittoria, which had just snatched Spain from France, added to the confidence which the allies felt in the fortune of England, and put an end to the hesitation of the Emperor of Austria. "How," said Napoleon, "can I hope, in the midst of such adverse circumstances, to bring a negotiation to an honourable conclusion? Does not war offer me a better chance? Because I have not made peace, it will be said that I did not wish to make it. Are my enemies, then, more pacifically disposed than I am? Do they not refuse all the concessions which I offer to make? Have they ever hoped that I would accept such conditions as these? What they call a general peace is, in reality, the humiliation of France! I have a stronger interest than they in making peace. My late victories balance my reverses, at the conclusion of the last campaign.

"The armistice ought to bring about a conciliation. I yield much, because I can yield much in order to procure a general peace, but I cannot sacrifice to the security of my throne, the interests and the honour of France. What I am willing to give up for a general peace, I will not give up for a peace merely continental, for that would only prove to be a truce, during which England would not fail to cement a new coalition, and

to double her number of troops. Nothing being then concluded, I ought to anticipate new attacks, and try to preserve as much power as possible. I ought at least to yield only what is necessary, and nothing but what is necessary. Undoubtedly, I ought to feel confidence in the mediation of my father-in-law; the interests of his daughter and of his grandson are the same as mine. But I have learned, against my will, to know the policy of his cabinet. I have at this very moment a sufficiently rough instance of it. This policy does not change. Alliances, marriages, may suspend its progress, but they never alter its direction; Austria never renounces what she is obliged to yield when she is the weakest party. The peace under which she takes refuge in the days of her greatest danger, she considers only as a truce: she is contemplating a renewal of war at the very moment when she signs peace. During twenty years, she has not acted in any other manner. At Leoben she suspended hostilities; at Campo Formio she signed peace, because she had no other way left to prevent my taking Vienna. A year afterwards, when she knew that I was in Egypt, she believed France to be compromised by the misconduct of the Directory, and she renewed the war.

"In 1801, she signed peace because the French army, after being victorious at Marengo and Hohenlinden, threatened Vienna anew. In 1805, she thought to take me by surprise, in the midst of my projects for a descent on England, and immediately flew to

arms. But on this occasion, she lost Vienna, and the battle of Austerlitz, and was obliged again to submit. Three years had hardly elapsed, when she forgot the lessons which she had received; and when she saw me engaged in the affairs of Spain, she attacked France unexpectedly, and without any declaration of war, by invading the territories of one of my allies. It was only after having again lost Vienna, and had her army defeated at Wagram, that she implored me for peace as a benefit. At present she thinks that she has a more favourable chance than ever, and feels disposed to turn her arms against us. In a word, she can forget nothing except the clemency of her conquerors. She is, and ever will be, the enemy of French greatness. Her jealousy is stronger than even the sentiment of her own preservation. The system of the enemies of the French revolution is *war to the death.* Never have they granted us peace; we have always had to win it by conquest. Well! since so it must be, let us fight, and hope to gain it by means of a new victory! Every concession which I should make beyond what was reasonable, would but be made the excuse for new exactions. The foundation stone of the edifice of French honour once displaced, would involve the tumbling down of all the rest. I should be pushed from one concession to another, even to the château of the Tuileries, from whence the French, wounded in the tenderest point, would expel me with disgrace. Without doubt, Russia has a right to expect an advantageous peace. She has purchased it by the devastation

of her finest provinces, and by the burning of Moscow. But Austria has earned nothing,—deserved nothing: France has no right to pay the price of her cowardly treachery—of the crime which she commits in violating, at the same time, her alliance and the compact of family relationship."

At length, Napoleon, weary of the delay in the opening of the conferences, ordered the Duke of Vicenza to ask M. de Metternich, in a confidential interview, how Austria intended that peace should be brought about, and at how much she valued her intervention, in order that the allies might be bound by conditions equally honourable to all parties; and he added, "As soon as I know this, I will make my choice on the instant, between peace and war."

On the 7th of August, M. de Metternich replied, he demanded the Duchy of Warsaw; the independence of the Hanseatic towns; the restoration to the kingdom of Prussia of all her ancient possessions and a frontier on the Elbe; and the cession of Illyria, including Trieste, to Austria. On the 10th, during the night, the answer to these exactions was communicated to M. de Metternich.

"There shall no longer be a Duchy of Warsaw. Dantzic shall be a free city; her fortifications shall be destroyed.

"The King of Saxony shall be indemnified.

"The Illyrian provinces shall be restored to Austria, also Fiume.

"The Germanic confederation will only extend to the Oder.

"The integrity of the Danish territory shall be guaranteed.

"We shall come to an understanding on the Prussian question. "Holland shall serve as a compensation for the general peace."

But, far from being satisfied, M. de Metternich put forward new pretensions: he spoke of Switzerland; did not wish to hear any more of the Germanic Confederation, but wanted to have Germany replaced under the moral sceptre of Austria: he was forced to acknowledge that the sacrifices agreed to, or offered by, Napoleon were immense, and he went so far as to say, that they would have sufficed for the concluding of a peace if they had been known twenty-four hours sooner: but he ended by declaring that the fatal term having been irrevocably fixed, and being passed, although only by a few hours, the congress was dissolved, and the Austrian army was about to unite with the Russian and Prussian forces.

But why so!—on account of a peace which they refused! Napoleon replied to this declaration of war by a last effort for peace. He wrote to his plenipotentiary at Prague thus:—

"Austria, as a mediator, has rendered all conciliation impossible; but Austria by declaring herself in a state of war, places us all in a more true and more

simple position. Europe is thus more near to a state of peace, for there is one complication the less.

"Well, then, since the Allies place so many hopes on the chances of battle, nothing prevents our negotiating whilst fighting. Write to M. de Metternich, and tell him that I propose to open this day, a congress, in a frontier town which shall be neutralized."

On the 21st of August, M. de Metternich replied to the above communication, thus:—

"It is not after war has broken out between Austria and France that the Austrian cabinet thinks it ought to be freed from the gratuitous inculpations contained in the note of M. the Duke of Bassano. Strong in public opinion, Austria will calmly wait for the judgment of Europe and that of posterity.

"The proposal of his Majesty the Emperor of the French, offering once more to the Emperor a gleam of hope, his Imperial Majesty thought he could profit by it. He has, therefore, ordered the undersigned, to inform the Russian and Prussian cabinets of the demand for the opening of a congress, which, even during the war, might be occupied in devising means for arriving at a general pacification. Their Majesties the Emperor Alexander and the King of Prussia, animated by the same sentiments as their august ally, have authorized the undersigned to declare to his Excellency the Duke of Bassano that *not being able to decide upon a subject of common interest*, without having previously conferred about it

with the other allied powers, the three courts will confer incessantly on the propositions of France.

"The undersigned has been charged to transmit to the French cabinet, with the least possible delay, the overtures of all the allied courts, in reply to the above-mentioned proposition."

§ 8.

The treachery of the Saxons on the battle-field of Leipzig, the defection of the Bavarians, and that of the confederated states of the Rhine, had obliged the French army to repass the Rhine, and the divisions had taken up their position from Honingen to Wesel, in order to cover that natural frontier of France. Re-inforcements arrived from every quarter, and one hundred thousand veteran soldiers from the army of Spain re-entered France, and hastened to the defence of her territory. The national enthusiasm was manifested with holy ardour; in Champagne, Burgundy, Franche-Comté and Alsace especially, the resistance would be terrible. The allies dreaded this, and they would perhaps never have attempted the passage of the Rhine by open force, if the Swiss had not shamefully violated their neutrality by delivering up the bridge of Basle to the Austrian army.

Some hope of peace was still entertained from the hesitation of the allies, from the words of which Baron St. Aignon was made the bearer, and above all, from the declaration made on the 5th of November by the Prince Regent to the English parliament: "That it was not the intention either of England or of

the allied powers to demand from France any sacrifices incompatible with her honour and her just rights."

On the 4th of November, Baron St. Aignon, who for the last two years had been accredited as resident French Minister at the Court of Saxe-Weimar, returned to Paris, and made the following statement to the Minister for Foreign Affairs:—

"On the 26th of October, 1813, after having been for two days treated as a prisoner at Weimar, then the head-quarters of the Emperors of Austria and Russia, I received orders to set out on the following day with a number of prisoners whom they were sending into Bohemia. Hitherto, I had sought no interviews, nor made any claims, considering that the title which I bore was in itself claim sufficient. I had merely protested against the treatment which I was receiving; but in such circumstances as these, I thought it my duty to write to Prince Schwartzenberg and to Prince Metternich, representing to them the impropriety of such proceedings. Prince Schwartzenberg sent his first aide-de-camp, Count Parr, to me, apologizing for the mistake which had taken place with regard to me; and requesting me to repair either to his house or to that of Prince Metternich. I immediately went to the house of the latter; Prince Schwartzenberg had just left it, and I was received with marked civility by Prince Metternich, who said something about my position, and took upon himself the task of relieving me from it, being happy, he

said, to do me this service, and at the same time to testify the esteem which the Emperor of Austria felt for the Duke of Vicenza. He then spoke of the Congress, without my having in any way led to the subject. 'We sincerely desire peace,' said he; 'we desire it, and we shall succeed in procuring it; nothing more is necessary than to consider the question fairly and without any winding about. The indirect means which the Emperor Napoleon is employing for the purpose of procuring peace, will never succeed; but let us mutually explain our views with sincerity, and it will be done.'

"After this conversation, Prince Metternich desired me to go to Toeplitz, where I should constantly receive news from him; and said he should hope to see me again on my return. I set out for Toeplitz on the 27th of October; I arrived there on the 30th, and on the 2nd of November I received a letter from Prince Metternich, in consequence of which I left Toeplitz on the 3rd of November, and went to the head-quarters of the Emperor of Austria at Frankfort, where I arrived on the 8th. The same day I waited on Prince Metternich. He immediately spoke to me of the progress of the combined armies, long before the declaration of Austria had saluted the Emperor Francis with the title of Emperor of Germany; said, 'that he would not accept that useless title, and that Germany was the more bound to him on that account that he was anxious to persuade the Emperor Napoleon that the greatest calmness and spirit of

moderation presided in the councils of the allies; that they did not mean to dissolve their union, but to preserve their activity and their strength; that the more moderate they were, the stronger they would be; that no one wanted to interfere with the dynasty of Napoleon; that England was much more moderate in her views than she was supposed to be; that there had never been a more favourable moment for treating with her; that if the Emperor Napoleon really desired to conclude a solid peace, he would save humanity from many evils, and France from many dangers, by not delaying the negotiations for that purpose; that they were quite ready to enter on the subject; that the ideas of peace which they had conceived, would fix just limits to the power of England, and give to France, as well as the other powers of Europe, all the maritime liberty which they had a right to claim; that England was ready to give to Holland, if independent, what she would not give to it as a French province; that what M. de Mervelet had been charged to say on the part of the Emperor Napoleon, might give place to the communication of which they requested me to be the bearer; only begging me to deliver it exactly, and without making any alteration; that the Emperor Napoleon did not wish to consider it possible to maintain a balance of power amongst the powers of Europe, but that such a balance was not only possible, but even necessary; that it had been proposed at Dresden to take as indemnity countries which the Emperor no longer possessed, such as

the Grand Duchy of Warsaw; and that similar compensation might be made at the present conjuncture.'

"On the 9th, M. de Metternich begged me to go to him at nine o'clock in the evening. He had come from the presence of the Emperor of Austria, and gave me a letter for the Empress from his Majesty. He told me that he expected Count Nesselrode, and that, in concert with him, he was about to intrust me with the communication which I must make to the Emperor. He begged me to inform the Duke of Vicenza that they felt for him the sentiments of esteem which his noble character has always inspired.

"A few moments afterwards, Count Nesselrode entered the room; he repeated, in a few words, what M. de Metternich had already said to me about the mission which they wished me to undertake, and added, that they should proceed as if M. de Hardenberg were present, and approving all that was said. M. de Metternich then explained the intentions of the coalition, such as I was to report them to the Emperor. After having listened, I answered, that as my business was to hear, and not to speak, I had nothing to do but convey their words literally, and that, in order to be quite sure of them, I must request him to let me note them down for my own use only, and that he should see what I wrote. Count Nesselrode then proposed that I should write the note immediately, upon which M. de Metternich took me with him into a study, where I wrote the note subjoined.

When I had written it, I re-entered the chamber, and M. de Metternich said to me, " Here is Lord Aberdeen, the English Ambassador; our intentions are similar to his, so that we can continue our explanation before him." He then requested me to read what I had written, and when I came to the article concerning England, Lord Aberdeen not appearing to understand it, I read it a second time. His Lordship then observed, that the expressions *liberty of commerce and rights of navigation* were very vague; I replied that I had written what M. de Metternich had instructed me to say; M. de Metternich answered that these expressions might, perhaps, embroil the question, and that it would be as well to substitute others for them. He took the pen and wrote, ' That England would make the greatest sacrifices *for a peace founded upon these bases*,' (those previously laid down).

" I observed, that these expressions were quite as vague as those which they replaced. Lord Aberdeen agreed with me, and said, ' That it was better what I had first written should remain;' and he reiterated the assurance, ' That England was ready to make the greatest sacrifices in her power, and that she would give with a liberal hand.' The remainder of the note being in conformity to what was said, they then spoke of indifferent subjects.

" Prince Schwartzenberg entered, and what had passed was repeated to him. Count Nesselrode, who had been absent for a moment during this conversa-

tion, returned, and charged me to tell the Duke of Vicenza, from the Emperor Alexander, that his Majesty would never change the opinion which he entertained of his integrity and estimable character, and his conviction that these affairs would have been soon arranged if he had been entrusted with the negotiation.

"I was to have set out on the morning of the next day, the 10th of November, but Prince Schwartzenberg begged of me to delay my departure till the evening, as he had not had time to write to the Prince of Neufchâtel.

"During the night he sent to me Count Voyna, one of his aides-de-camp, who brought me his letter, and conducted me to the French outposts: and I arrived at Mayence at eleven in the morning."

Note written at Frankfort on the 9th of November, by Baron St. Aignon, and approved by M. de Metternich, Count Nesselrode, and Lord Aberdeen:—

"Prince Metternich told me that the circumstances which had made it advisable for me to come to the head-quarters of the Emperor of Austria, would enable me to take charge of the answer to the propositions which his Majesty the Emperor of the French had communicated through Count Mervelet. M. de Metternich and Count Nesselrode, therefore, desired me to reply to his Majesty:—

'That the allied powers were united by indisso-

luble engagements which constituted their strength, and from which they never intended to deviate.

'That the reciprocal engagements which they had contracted had made them take the resolution to conclude a general peace only; that, at the time of the Congress of Prague, they had contemplated a continental peace, because that then, circumstances would not have afforded time for coming to an understanding about any other; but that since that time, the intentions of England and of all the other powers were well known; and that it was useless to think either of an armistice, or of any negotiation, having for its object any thing except a general peace.

'That the Allied Sovereigns are unanimously agreed as to the power of France, and the preponderance which she ought to retain in the integrity of her own territories, and in confining herself within her natural limits, viz., the Rhine, the Alps, and the Pyrenees.

'That the principle of the independence of Germany is a condition *sine quâ non;* that, therefore, France must renounce, not the influence which every great power must necessarily exercise over states of inferior strength, but all claim of sovereignty over Germany; and that, moreover, this is a principle which his Majesty himself has laid down, by declaring that it was well for the great powers to be separated by states of less importance.

'That on the side of the Pyrenees, the indepen-

dence of Spain, and the re-establishment of the ancient dynasty, were also a condition *sine quâ non*.

'That in Italy, Austria ought to have a frontier which could be settled by negotiation; that Piedmont offered many lines, and that these, as well as the situation of Italy, could be also discussed, provided always, that it, as well as Germany, were governed independently of France, and of every other preponderating power.

'That, in the same manner, the situation of Holland should be an object of negotiation, always setting out upon the principle that it ought to be independent.

'That England was ready to make the greatest sacrifices for a peace founded upon these bases, and willing to grant to France such liberty of commerce and of navigation, as she had any right to expect.

'That should these principles for a general pacification be agreed to by his Majesty, some convenient place might be neutralized on the right bank of the Rhine, to which the plenipotentiaries of the belligerent powers might immediately repair; the negotiations, however, not suspending the course of military operations.'"

The renunciation of Germany and Spain was only the sanctioning by a diplomatic act events which had already taken place. But to give up Holland and Italy, which were still intact, would be depriving

ourselves of most important resources. Italy alone could keep in check 100,000 Austrians. And if peace could be gained even so! But no; negotiations were to be opened whilst hostilities were going on; and who could say to what length the allies might push their exactions, if any new victory should crown their arms on the soil of France? Peace, therefore, remained quite uncertain; floating over the field of battle.

In the meantime, the Minister for Foreign Affairs wrote as follows to M. de Metternich: "The Baron St. Aignon arrived here yesterday, and has reported to us, according to the communication made to him by your Excellency, that England adheres to the proposal for the opening of a congress, having for its object a general peace, and that the powers are disposed to neutralize a town on the right bank of the Rhine where the plenipotentiaries may meet. His Majesty wishes the town of Mannheim to be the place named; and has appointed as his plenipotentiary, the Duke of Vicenza, who will go there as soon as your Excellency informs me of the day fixed by the powers for the opening of the congress. It appears to us, Sir, that it will be suitable and also conformable to usage, that there should be no troops at Mannheim, and that the duty be performed by the citizens, whilst at the same time the police be put under the orders of an officer to be named by the Grand Duke of Baden. Should it be thought advisable to have some pickets of cavalry, their numbers ought to be the same on both sides.

"With regard to the communications between the English plenipotentiaries and their government, they may be carried on through France and by Calais.

"A peace founded upon the basis of the independence of all nations, whether regarded under a continental or a maritime point of view, has been the constant object of the Emperor's wishes and of his policy.

"His Majesty conceives a happy augury from the account which M. St. Aignon gives of what the English minister has said."

An account of all that passed at Frankfort was written to the Emperor, who, so far from being afraid to learn the truth, employed all the means furnished by his police to prevent anything from being concealed from him.

He soon found that the feelings of the allies had become personally hostile to him; that the same intrigues which had threatened his crown in 1807, 1809, and 1812, had been renewed, and were in active operation at the head-quarters of the allies; and the "Frankfort Gazette" of the 1st of December confirmed these secret reports by a declaration,* an official

* DECLARATION OF FRANKFORT, 1st DECEMBER, 1813.

"Frankfort, December 1st, 1813.

"The French Government has just ordered a new levy of 300,000 recruits. This conduct of the Senatus-consult necessarily exasperates the allied powers.

"They feel themselves called upon to proclaim anew before the world the views by which they are guided in the present war,

manifesto, in which the Allies imputed it to the Emperor, as an unpardonable crime, that he had ordered the levying of troops at a time when they were negotiating with him for a peace. As if France was to give no thought to her means of defence from the moment when an Emperor of Russia, or a King of England, chose to propose the opening of a congress for peace! The courier of the Duke of Bassano was a long time delayed at the enemy's outposts, and could not reach Frankfort till the 24th of November, and on the 25th, Prince Metternich replied as follows:—

the principles upon which their conduct is founded, their wishes and their determinations.

"The allied powers do not wish to make war upon France, but upon that haughtily assumed preponderance which, for the misfortune of Europe and even of France itself, the Emperor Napoleon has too long claimed, beyond the limits of his own empire.

"Victory has conducted their troops to the Rhine; and the first use which their Imperial and Royal Majesties have made of success is to offer peace to his Majesty the Emperor of the French. An attitude, strengthened by the accession of all the Sovereigns and Princes of Germany, has had no influence in dictating the conditions of peace. These conditions are founded upon the independence of the French empire, as well as upon the independence of the other states of Europe. The views of the allied powers are just in their object, generous and liberal in their application, encouraging to all, and honourable to each.

"The allied sovereigns desire that France should be great, powerful and happy, because the greatness and strength of the French nation is one of the fundamental bases of the social edifice. They desire that France should be happy, that French

"The courier, whom your Excellency despatched on the 16th of November, arrived here yesterday.

"I hastened to lay before their Imperial Majesties, and his Majesty the King of Prussia, the letter which you have done me the honour to address to me.

"Their Majesties perceive, with great satisfaction, that the confidential interview with M. de St. Aignon, is regarded by his Majesty the Emperor of the French, as a proof of the pacific intentions of the high allied powers. Animated by the same spirit, invariable in their views, and bound by an indissoluble alliance,

commerce should revive, that the arts, those blessings of peace, should flourish, because a great people can only be tranquil, inasmuch as they are happy.

"The powers will secure to the French empire an extent of territory, such as France never possessed under her Kings; for a brave nation does not decline from having in its turn experienced a reverse of fortune in an obstinate and bloody struggle, in which she has fought with her accustomed courage.

"But the allied powers also desire to be themselves free, happy and tranquil. They wish for a state of peace which, by a wise partition of strength, and by a just equilibrium, shall preserve the people, for the future, from the numberless calamities which for twenty years have overwhelmed Europe.

"The allied powers will not lay down their arms until they have attained this great and beneficial result, this noble object of their efforts.

"They will not lay down their arms before the political situation of Europe be strengthened anew; before immutable principles have established their ascendency over vain pretensions; before the sanctity of treaties shall at length secure to Europe a solid peace."

they are ready to enter upon the negotiation as soon as they are assured that his Majesty the Emperor of the French admits the general and summary bases which I have indicated in my interview with the Baron St. Aignon.

" Your Excellency, however, has made no mention in your letter of these bases. You confine yourself to expressing a principle admitted by all the governments of Europe, and stated by them all as their most anxious wish. But this principle, notwithstanding its being generally admitted, cannot supply the place of the *bases*. Their Majesties wish that his Majesty the Emperor Napoleon would explain himself upon the latter point, as the only means of preventing the negotiations from being impeded by insurmountable difficulties from their very commencement.

" The choice of the town of Mannheim does not appear to present any obstacle to the allies; and therefore, the proposal of your Excellency concerning the neutralizing of it, and the measures regarding the police, shall not impede the proceedings in any way."

The *salons* of Paris accused the Duke of Bassano of not doing enough towards procuring peace, and of encouraging a repugnance to making those sacrifices which the circumstances required. The Emperor was very unwilling that these prejudices, how unjust soever they might be, should possibly be considered as an afterthought on his part for the purpose of interrupting the negotiations; and although he highly appreciated

the long experience of the Duke of Bassano, his morality, his incorruptible fidelity, and his rare talent of rapidly unraveling the most complicated affairs, he took the portfolio of foreign affairs from him and gave it to the Duke of Vicenza, and appointed the Duke of Bassano Secretary of State. By this new arrangement he hoped to meet the wishes of the Emperor Alexander, who had said at Frankfort, "with the Duke of Vicenza, the negotiations would soon become an easy matter, and would proceed quickly."

On the 2nd of December, the new minister for foreign affairs wrote as follows to M. de Metternich:

"I have submitted to his Majesty the letter which your Excellency addressed to the Duke of Bassano, on the 25th of November.

"By admitting without restriction, and as the basis of a peace, the independence of all nations, whether under a territorial or maritime point of view, France has virtually admitted what the allies appear to desire. His Majesty has, by this very act, admitted all the consequences of this principle, the final result of which ought to be a peace founded upon the balance of power in Europe, upon the recognition of the integrity of all nations within their natural limits, and upon the absolute engagement of every state not to arrogate over any other whatever, either sovereignty or supremacy under any form, either on land or on sea.

"It is with a lively satisfaction that I announce to your Excellency, that I am authorized by the Emperor, my august master, to declare that his Majesty adheres

to the *summary and general bases* which were communicated by M. de St. Aignon. This requires great sacrifices on the part of France; but his Majesty will make them without regret, if by such sacrifices England can be brought to agree to the means of arriving at a general peace, honourable for all parties, a result which your Excellency assures him is the wish not only of the continental powers but also of England."

The Emperor being anxious to do everything to stop the enemy's troops on the right bank of the Rhine, sent his minister for foreign affairs to the head quarters of the allies, and gave him full powers to open the negotiations at the congress, on the basis of the natural. limits of France. This was what the allies demanded, but this time again they showed their insincerity. The Duke of Vicenza could not get past their advanced posts, and was obliged to stop at Lunéville. However, on the 10th of December, M. de Metternich wrote to him as follows:

"The communication which your Excellency did me the honour to address to me, on the 2nd of December, has been forwarded to me from Cassel by our outposts, and I have made no delay in submitting it to their Majestics. They perceive with satisfaction that his Majesty the Emperor of the French has adopted the bases which are essential to the re-establishment of a state of equilibrium and future tranquillity in Europe. They are anxious to forward that document without delay to their allies; and their imperial and royal Ma-

jesties have no doubt that, immediately on the receipt of the answers, the negotiations can be opened.

"We shall hasten to do ourselves the honour of informing your Excellency of the fact, and can then agree with you upon such arrangements as may appear to be the most proper for the attainment of the end which we have in view."

On the 20th of December, however, the Austrian army, amounting to 160,000 men, effected the passage of the bridge of Basle, after having summoned the Swiss general to retire, who was guarding it with one battalion only. Everything in the power of Napoleon to do, in order to save France from invasion, and sign a peace before the enemy should place a foot upon her soil, he conscientiously feels that he did. Nothing more remained for him but to fight; but not wishing to break the thread of the negotiations, he sent orders to the Duke of Vicenza to remain at the outposts, and he confided the portfolio of foreign affairs to M. de la Besnardière, one of the chiefs of division of this ministry. This man was a creature of Prince Talleyrand's, and it is not easy to understand why the Emperor, who already distrusted M. de Talleyrand, should have given his confidence to M. de Besnardière in affairs of such a delicate nature.

On the 4th of January, 1814, the Emperor wrote to the Duke of Vicenza—"I doubt much whether the allies are sincere, and whether England wishes for peace: I wish for it, but it must be both solid and

honourable. France without her natural limits, without Ostend, without Antwerp, would not be on the same footing as the other states of Europe.

"England and all the other powers recognised these limits at Frankfort. The conquests of France on this side of the Rhine and the Alps are not equal to what Austria, Russia, and Prussia have acquired in Poland and in Finland, and what England has attempted to acquire in Asia. The policy of England, and the hatred of the Emperor of Russia, will influence Austria. I have accepted the bases of Frankfort, but it is very probable that the allies have other ideas; their proposals have been nothing but a mask; and if the negotiations are once placed under the influence of military events, no one can foresee the consequences of such a system.

"You must listen to everything, and observe everything. It is by no means certain that you will be received at the head quarters; for the Russians and the English are anxious to deprive us of every means of conciliation and of explanation with the Emperor of Austria. You must try to find out what are the views of the allies, and communicate to me daily whatever you learn, in order that I may be in a position to give you such instructions as I have no reason as yet to confide to you. The allies are much mistaken if they think that the reverses of war will make the nation desire the blessings of peace, at the cost of their honour, and of losing our natural frontiers. There is not a French heart which would not be sensible of the

opprobrium at the end of six months, and reproach me as the cause of it.

"Italy is intact; the Viceroy has a fine army there; before eight days I shall have brought together troops sufficient to fight many battles, even before the arrival of those which I expect from Spain. The devastations of the Cossacks will cause the inhabitants to take arms, and will redouble my forces. Should the nation second me, my enemies will march to their own destruction. If fortune betrays me, my resolution is taken. I shall not retain the throne; I shall neither debase France nor myself by subscribing to shameful conditions. You must find out what Metternich wants; it is not the interest of Austria to push things to extremity; yet another step, and his first chance will escape him.

"In this situation of things, I can prescribe nothing to you. Confine yourself, just now, to hearing everything, and to giving me an account of it. I am setting out for the army. We shall be so near each other, that your first reports will not delay business. Send me couriers frequently."

On the 6th of January, the Duke of Vicenza wrote from Lunéville to M. de Metternich as follows:—

"The Emperor does not wish astily to condemn the motives which require, that before the opening of the congress, it should be necessary to communicate to the allies his full and entire agreement to the bases which your Excellency proposed, in conformity to the wishes

of the ministers of Russia and England. It is not easy to imagine that Lord Aberdeen would be authorized to propose the bases of a negotiation, without being authorized to proceed with it. His Majesty will not do the allies the injury of thinking that they still deliberate, and are uncertain; they must be quite aware that every conditional offer becomes an absolute engagement for those who make it, as soon as the conditions required by them are fulfilled.

"At all events, we have reason to expect, by the 6th of January, an answer which your Excellency spoke of as ready on the 10th of December. Your correspondence and the declaration of the allied powers do not lead us to foresee any difficulties; and the report of M. de Talleyrand, on his return from Switzerland, confirms the belief that your intentions continue to be the same.

"From whence, then, does the delay arise? His Majesty, having nothing more at heart than the speedy re-establishment of a general peace, thought that he could not give a stronger proof of the sincerity of his sentiments in that respect, than by sending to the allied sovereigns his minister for foreign affairs, furnished with full powers. I hasten then, Prince, to inform you that I shall wait at our advanced posts for the passports necessary for passing through the allied army and repairing to the presence of your Excellency."

On the 8th, M. de Metternich wrote from Friburg:—"I have to-day received the letter which your Excel-

lency did me the honour to address to me from Lunéville on the 6th inst.

" The delay which has attended the communication which the French government expected, in consequence of my letter of the 10th of December, has been caused by considering the conduct which the allies must pursue.

" The confidential explanation with the Baron St. Aignon having led to official overtures on the part of France, their Imperial and Royal Majesties considered that the answer of your Excellency of the 2nd of December was of such a nature as to make it proper to communicate it to the allies.

" The opinion which your Excellency entertains, that it was Lord Aberdeen who proposed the bases, and that he was furnished with full powers to that effect, has no foundation whatever.

" The Court of London has just despatched to the Continent the secretary of state who fills the department of foreign affairs.

" His Imperial Majesty of all the Russias being in momentary expectation of leaving this place, and Lord Castlereagh being expected every instant to arrive, the Emperor my august master, and his Majesty the King of Prussia, have charged me to inform your Excellency that as soon as possible you shall receive an answer to your proposal of coming to the head-quarters of the allied sovereigns."

The Emperor made every possible effort to hasten the opening of the conferences, and caused the follow-

ing letter to be written to the Duke of Vicenza, on the 13th of January.

" His Majesty orders me to announce to your Excellency, that he has received your despatch of the 12th, brought by the courier Simiame, and he has condescended to remit to me this despatch and the pieces which accompany it, with the exception of the report from M. Cham.

" His Majesty prefers your addressing your correspondence direct to himself; but it is his intention to convey his replies through his cabinet, to which he means to communicate everything which shall result from the negotiations, and all the documents which shall show the state of them at different periods. He desires, therefore, that all the despatches from your Excellency may be divided into *official* or ostensible, and *confidential*—words which he authorizes your Excellency to make use of, for the despatches which contain the facts themselves, or for those private remarks which are intended only for his Majesty's own eye.

" His Majesty has recommended the sending to you of all the English newspapers; he has given orders to the head of the police to send them to the ministry within twenty-four hours after their arrival in Paris, so that none shall be wanting to your Excellency except such as do not come here.

" His Majesty also orders me to inform your Excellency, that the letter from the Emperor of Austria to his august daughter, is pretty nearly to the same effect as that of M. de Metternich; the Emperor pro-

testing anew, that whatever may happen, he will never separate the cause of his daughter and of his grandson from that of France. As that may have some connexion with projects set on foot by other powers in favour of the Bourbons, it is important to manifest no fears in that respect, and to demonstrate that the Bourbons, if put forward, would only serve to awaken sentiments very much opposed to the hopes of their partisans, and that if any party could be formed in France, it could only be that of the revolution, vulgarly called the *Jacobins*."

On the 16th of January, the Emperor again sent a letter to his plenipotentiary—viz., the following:—

"His Majesty, after having dictated the letter inclosed, and read and corrected it himself, has given me orders to send it to your Excellency, to be copied by you and sent to Prince Metternich.

"Nevertheless, his Majesty submits the propriety of this step to your judgment. 'Send this letter,' said he, 'to the Duke of Vicenza; and let him copy it, if he approves of it.' These were his own words."

In consequence of this, the Duke of Vicenza sent to M. de Metternich the following letter:—

"The delays occurring in the negotiations are not caused either by France or Austria, and yet it is France and Austria which will be the greatest sufferers from them.

"The allied armies have already invaded several of

our provinces: if they continue to advance, a battle will become inevitable; and surely it is consistent with the foresight of Austria, to calculate and weigh well the consequences of such a battle, whether it be lost by the allies or by France.

"When writing to a minister so enlightened as you are, I do not need to enlarge upon these consequences; I confine myself to bringing them before your notice, feeling sure that their importance cannot escape your penetration.

"The chances of war may vary every day: as the allies advance, they must become weakened; whilst the French armies will be reinforced, and will, in their advance, impart a double courage to the nation whose greatest and dearest interests it is evident they must henceforth defend. Besides, the consequences of a battle lost by the allies will not weigh so heavily on any of them as it will upon Austria, because she is at the same time a principal power amongst the allies, and one of the most central states of Europe.

"Supposing that fortune should continue to be favourable to the allies, it is undoubtedly important for Austria to consider attentively what would be the situation of Europe on the day following a battle lost by the French, in the heart of France; and whether such an event would not involve consequences diametrically opposed to that balance of power which Austria is anxious to establish, and, at the same time, to her policy and to the personal and family affections of the Emperor Francis.

"In a word, Austria protests that she wishes for peace; but is she not putting herself in a situation, either of not reaching this end, or else of going beyond it, by continuing hostilities which both parties wish to bring to a termination?

"These considerations induce me to think that in the actual situation of the respective armies, and at this severe season of the year, a suspension of arms might be found advantageous to both parties.

"Such a suspension could be established by a formal convention, or simply by an exchange of declarations between your Excellency and me.

"It could take place either for a fixed or an indefinite time, under the condition that it could not cease without giving some days' notice beforehand.

"This suspension of arms appears to me to depend entirely upon Austria, because she has the principal direction of military affairs; and I have thought that, in every case, it was for the interest of Austria that things should not go any farther, or be pushed to extremity.

"It is this persuasion especially which induces me to write confidentially to your Excellency.

"If I have been mistaken; if such are not the intentions and the policy of your cabinet; if this quite confidential proceeding is not likely to have any effect, I must beg of your Excellency to look upon it as if it had never happened.

"You have manifested so much confidence towards

me in your last letter, and I myself feel so much reliance on the uprightness of your views, and on the sentiments which in all circumstances you have expressed, that I venture to hope a letter dictated by that confidence, if it do not accomplish the desired end, will remain for ever a secret between your Excellency and myself."

On the 19th of January, M. de Besnardière wrote the following account to the Duke of Vicenza of a conversation which he had just had with the Emperor Napoleon:

"The Emperor did me the honour to converse with me at great length about the future peace. I shall report to your Excellency, as faithfully as my memory will allow and with as much brevity as I can, the substance of what passed. The thing upon which his Majesty most insisted, and *to which he most frequently returned*, was the necessity of preserving the natural limits of France: 'this was,' he said, 'a condition *sine quâ non*.' All the powers, even England, had agreed to this at Frankfort. France, if reduced to her ancient limits, would not have *now* two-thirds of the relative power which she had twenty years ago. What she has acquired on the side of the Alps, and of the Rhine, is not equal to what Russia, Prussia, and Austria have gained by the dismemberment of Poland alone. All these states have aggrandized themselves, and to reduce France to her ancient territory would be to place her in a state of disgraceful decadence. France, without

the departments of the Rhine, without Belgium, without Ostend, without Antwerp, would be nothing. The system of reducing France to its ancient frontiers is inseparable from the re-establishment of the Bourbons, because they only could offer a guarantee for the maintenance of that system; and England knows that well: in any other way, peace upon such a basis would be impossible, and could not continue. Neither the Emperor nor the republic (should the overturning of authority again cause it to revive) would ever subscribe to such a condition. As for his Majesty, his resolution is firmly taken; it is immutable: he never will leave France less great than he received it.

"If, then, the allies wish to change the bases which they have accepted, and propose the ancient limits, the Emperor sees three lines of conduct only from which he can choose: either to fight and conquer; to fight and die gloriously; or lastly, should the nation not support him, to abdicate. He cares not for grandeur; he will never purchase its preservation by disgrace. The English may wish to deprive him of Antwerp; but it is not the interest of the Continent to allow it, for peace so made would not last three years. He felt that the circumstances were critical; but he would never accept of a disgraceful peace. In accepting the bases proposed, he had made all the sacrifices which he could possibly make: should others be required, they could only affect Italy and Holland. He certainly would desire to exclude the Stadtholder; but should France retain her natural limits, everything could be

arranged; there would be no insurmountable obstacle. His Majesty spoke also of Kehl and Cassel; without these two *têtes de pont*, he said that Strasbourg and Mayence would become worth nothing, but he thought that the enemy would not attach any great importance to them.

"The Duke of Carignano came in soon after, bringing me a letter from the King of Holland, which I carried to the Emperor. This letter is filled with protestations of gratitude and of regret, but announces that the King is forced by necessity to accept the proposals of Austria and England. The date is the 3rd; the treaty was not then signed, nor was it signed even on the 6th; but M. de Carignano does not conceal that he thinks it is so by this time. The Viceroy is about to advance to the Alps: Mantua and the fortified places will be guarded by the Italians."

§ 9.

On the 18th of January, that is to say, ten days after the answer of M. de Metternich had been written, the Duke of Vicenza was still at the outposts.

It was no longer possible to have any doubt as to the intentions of the allies; it was quite evident that the words of peace, reported by Baron St. Aignon, had been merely used to gain the time necessary for persuading the Swiss to violate their neutrality. Napoleon felt the necessity of peace; the Rhine had been crossed by the allies; the scene of combat was within forty

leagues of Paris; everything that French honour could concede he was willing to agree to.

The only resource which could stop the allies, and induce them to negotiate with sincerity, was to show them the nation rising as one man for the defence of their honour. In 1792, in 1799, and in 1801, France was less powerful, less warlike, less fruitful in resources of all kinds, and without the experience of a hundred victories to guide her efforts of patriotism; yet by rising *en masse*, she freed Champagne; at Zurich she prevented the invasion of Europe; and at Marengo the First Consul saved the French revolution.

The Senate and the Legislative Body showed from the first that these two important portions of the state were governed by royalist intrigues, of which M. de Talleyrand did not yet dare to own himself the chief, but which he directed by the intervention of Messrs. Duras, La Tremouille, Fitzjames, Polignac, Adrian de Montmorency, Sosthenes de la Rochefoucault; Marquis de Rivière; Lainé, the deputy from Bordeaux; Linch, the senator from Vitrolles; Ambray, formerly Chancellor of the Abbey of Montesquieu; Roger-Collard, Becquey, Louis, Bergnot, Dessoles, Barbé, Marbois, councillor of state; Besnardière, intrusted for the time with the portfolio of foreign affairs; and De Pradt, Archbishop of Malines, principal almoner to the Emperor.

The ministers submitted to the Chambers all the documents connected with the negotiations, and gave an account of the situation of the empire. The speech

from the throne contained the following phrase, so remarkable for its sincerity:—

"It is no longer the question to consider about recovering those conquests which we have lost; I shall, without regret, make the sacrifices required by the preliminary bases proposed by the enemy and accepted by me; but should the allies not sign a peace on the bases which they themselves have offered, we must then resolve to fight for our country amid the tombs of our fathers, and the cradles of our children."

The attitude of the Legislative Body but too plainly indicated that nothing was to be hoped from their cooperation, in the national crisis which events clearly showed to be approaching. The Emperor found himself obliged to dissolve them, and to seek for the safety of the empire in the dictatorship. It was on this occasion that he thus addressed the deputation which came to take leave of him:—

"I called you together to give me your assistance, and everything which you have said and done is for the interest of the stranger; instead of uniting us, you only increase our division. Are you ignorant that in a monarchical state, the throne and the person of the monarch can never be separated? For what is the throne? A bit of wood covered with a bit of velvet! but in monarchical language *I* am the throne! You speak also of the people. Are you ignorant that it is *I* who represent them, over and above all? No one can attack me without attacking the nation itself. If

there be abuses, is this the moment to come and remonstrate with me, when 200,000 Cossacks are invading our frontiers? Is this the time to dispute about individual liberty and safety, when political liberty and national independence are at stake? You ask me for a guarantee against *power*, when at this moment the whole of France is asking me for one against the enemy!" You have been seduced by people devoted to England, and M. Lainé, M. Lainé, your spokesman, is a bad man!"

At the moment of leaving Paris to put himself at the head of the army, he sent into the provinces of the interior some senators as commissary-governors extraordinary, with orders to publish the following proclamation:—

"Frenchmen! one last effort!—I call upon those of Paris, of Brittany, Normandy, Champagne, Burgundy, and the other departments, to haste to the succour of their brethren of Lorraine and of Alsace! At the sight of all these people in arms, the stranger will flee, or will sign a peace."

On the 24th, the Emperor left Paris, and on the 26th, he commenced that series of stratagetic operations which extorted admiration from his enemies. With less than 55,000 men, he disorganized the armies of Europe, and the empire would have been saved had it not been for that inexplicable capitulation which delivered Paris to the allies.

§ 10.

It was on the same day—viz., the 26th of January, that the Emperor of Austria and Lord Castlereagh arrived at Langres; and on the 29th, after the battles of St. Dizier and Brienne, so glorious for France, the allies at length decided upon naming Chatillon-sur-Seine as the place where a congress should be held. But the proceedings were not opened till the 4th of February; for the battle of La Rothière had for an instant restored hope to the enemies of the Emperor, and for two days they believed him to be beaten and without resource.

At Chatillon, Count Razumowski was the representative of Russia.

Count Stadion, of Austria.

Lords Castlereagh, Aberdeen, and Cathcart, represented England.

Baron de Humboldt, Prussia.

The Duke of Vicenza represented France.

M. de Besnardière also went as a negotiator to Chatillon, but without any official character.

The sittings of the 4th and 5th of February did not offer anything of interest. It was only on the 7th that the plenipotentiaries of the allies threw off the mask, and stated in the protocol, that "The allied powers, taking into consideration at the same time the security and future independence of Europe, and their desire to see France in the possession of a rank analogous to that which she has always occupied in the political system; and considering also the situa-

tion in which Europe is now placed with respect to France, in consequence of the success obtained by arms, have authorized their plenipotentiaries to demand—

"That France shall return to the limits which she had before the Revolution, without any respect to such arrangements as may be judged suitable about portions of territory beyond those limits on one side or the other, and without any interference with such restitution as England is ready to make for the general interest of Europe, contrary to the retrocessions above demanded from France, such restitution being taken from conquests made by England during the war; that, consequently, France shall abandon all direct influence beyond her future limits; and that the renunciation of all titles which arise from claims of sovereignty and of protection over Italy, Germany, and Switzerland, shall be an immediate consequence of these arrangements."

On the same day, at eight o'clock in the evening, the French plenipotentiary replied by the following declaration:—

"The plenipotentiary of France again renews the offer already made by his court, of making, for the gaining of peace, the greatest sacrifices, however much opposed the demand made at the sitting of to-day, in the name of the allied powers, may be to *the bases proposed by them at Frankfort*, and which were founded upon what *the allies themselves* called the *natural*

limits of France; however much opposed such demand may be to the declarations which the courts have never ceased to make in the face of Europe; and how different soever may be their proposition from that of giving to France a position *analogous to the rank which she has always occupied in the political system*;—a basis which the plenipotentiaries of the allied powers again recall, in their proposition of to-day. In short, although the result of this proposition may be the applying to France alone a principle which the allied powers do not speak of adopting themselves, and which, notwithstanding, can be just, only as its application is reciprocal and impartial, the French plenipotentiary would have no hesitation in explaining himself without delay, and in the most positive manner upon this demand, if the sacrifice to be made, and the degree in which it would be one, did not necessarily depend on the kind and the number of those which might be demanded, as the weight of the sacrifice depends also necessarily on the value of the compensation: all the questions of a negtoiation are so bound up and subordinate to each other, that an opinion cannot be formed upon any without knowing them all. He who *makes the sacrifices* cannot be indifferent as to knowing *to whose profit* he is making them, and to what purpose they will be employed; and whether by so doing, a termination is likely to be put to the miseries of war. A project which would plainly develop the

views of the allies in their whole bearing, would accomplish this end.

"The plenipotentiary repeats, then, in the most earnest manner, his demand that the plenipotentiaries of the allied courts may explain *themselves clearly upon all the points cited above.*"

After having read what had been inserted in the protocol from the plenipotentiary of France, the plenipotentiaries of the allied courts declared that they would take his answer *ad referendum.*

On the 5th of February, the Emperor ordered the Duke of Bassano to write to his plenipotentiary as follows:—

"At the moment when his Majesty is about to quit this city, he charges me to inform you in express terms, that he gives you *carte blanche* for conducting the negotiation to a happy termination, for saving the capital and avoiding a battle, for these are the last hopes of the nation.

"The conferences were to have commenced yesterday; his Majesty has only delayed, in order that you might communicate to him the first steps, for fear of occasioning the least delay.

"I am, then, charged, sir, to inform you, that it is the Emperor's intention that you should consider yourself as invested with all the powers necessary in these important circumstances for deciding upon the best means of meeting the progress of the enemy, and of saving the capital.

"His Majesty desires that you will correspond with him as frequently as possible, in order that he may see his way clearly for the direction of his military operations."

The state of affairs was very serious; for if the safety of Paris was not secured by a peace, it could be hoped for only from such a return of good fortune as would recal the days of Marengo and Austerlitz. On the 6th of February, the Emperor wrote thus to his brother Joseph:—"In pressing emergencies, it seems to me that the only man to leave in Paris is an imperial commissary;" and a few hours later, "My Brother,—I have seen your courier; early to-morrow, I shall be at Nogent; the Duke of Ragusa has been there since the 5th. I shall then be in a position to cover Paris: let me have precise intelligence about the march of all the troops, and of the second Spanish division; as well as whatever you may ascertain about the road to Chalons by Eperney, and that to Vitry by Sezanne. The minister of war must immediately send funds and cartridges to Montereau and Meaux, for the arming of the national guard. I am much harassed by these arrangements, for I would wish to make an attack on Bar-sur-Seine to-morrow, in order to engage the Emperor Alexander, who appears to me to have made a wrong movement; but I am sacrificing everything to the necessity of covering Paris.

"Send officers along the two routes which I have just mentioned to you, in order that I may be well informed; and send the Duke of Valmy to Meaux: he

must correspond with me. *In case of any unforeseen event, the idea of giving the charge of Paris to King Louis* appears to me to be good. *You remember what I have directed about the Princesses.* For the rest, *you* will not be responsible for *my* conduct. Remove from Fontainebleau all the valuable furniture, especially everything that could be looked upon as a *trophy*, without, however, dismantling the château: but it would be folly to leave plate there, or anything which can be easily removed. I shall write to La Bouillerie, to hold a million at your disposal, for the clothing and equipment of the troops with all dispatch. I do not send you any orders for La Bouillerie, for I do not think that necessary. He can, at any time, with six hours' notice, put all he has in charge upon fifteen wagons, and, with horses which he will find in my stables, can transport it to Rambouillet in the first instance; but I cannot think that things will go so far as to make that requisite. I am not afraid of the enemy: I am full of hope for the event. Strengthen the barriers of Paris; place cannon at the different positions; let all the national guard who have muskets or fowling-pieces be posted there; and above all things, arrange it so that the minister of war shall send muskets to Montereau and Meaux.

"There ought to be at each barrier fifty men armed with muskets, one hundred armed with fowling pieces, and one hundred armed with pikes, making two hundred and fifty men at each of the principal

barriers. You ought to form every day a reserve of between four and five hundred men, armed with muskets, twice that number armed with fowling-pieces, and a third armed with pikes; these together would form a reserve of about two thousand men, ready to go wherever they might be most wanted, with batteries drawn by the guard, or by the polytechnic school."

But arms could not be found, and King Joseph answered, on the 9th, thus:

"SIRE,—I have received a letter from the minister of war, the original of which I send to your Majesty. You will see that our resources in guns are reduced to six thousand, and that it is therefore impossible to hope for a reserve of between thirty and forty thousand men in Paris. Circumstances are stronger than men; and when that is so clearly proved, it appears to me that exposing so precious a life as yours to imminent danger is not glorious, when no advantage can be derived from doing so by a vast number of men, who have bound up their own lives with yours.

"Your Majesty may be assured that I shall faithfully obey your commands, whatever they may be; but we must courageously yield to necessity. If you can make peace, make it at any price; if you cannot, we must perish bravely, like the last emperor of Constantinople: be it so. In that case your Majesty may rest satisfied that in everything and in every place I will follow your directions, and that I will never do anything unworthy either of you or of myself."

Whether the Duke of Vicenza was alarmed at the very heavy responsibility which the despatch of the 5th of February imposed upon him, or whether he did not quite understand all the extent of it, he requested fresh directions from the Emperor, and, on the 6th, wrote to him thus:

"A courier sent from Troyes, on the 5th of February, has brought me a despatch, in cipher, from the Duke of Bassano, which, by investing me, in the name of your Majesty, with the most extensive powers, has placed me, and keeps me, in the most embarrassing perplexity.

"I find myself here opposed to four negotiators—that is, reckoning the three plenipotentiaries from England only as one. These four negotiators have one and the same instructions only from their four courts: their language has been dictated to them beforehand: the declarations which they issue have been sent to them quite ready; they do not take a step, they do not speak a word, without consulting about it together first. They have decided to have a protocol, and if I insert in it the most simple observation, or the most recognised facts, even the most moderate expressions become the subject of difficulties, and I am forced to yield the point, that I may not waste the time in vain discussions. I know how precious the moments are; but I also know, that by precipitation we may lose everything. I urge, but only with the prudence prescribed by the necessity of not compromising the great interests with which I am entrusted—I urge on the

business as far as I can do so without being over officious, and without putting myself at the mercy of my opponents.

"In this situation, I have received a letter full of alarming intelligence. I set out with my hands almost tied, and I now receive unlimited powers. I was held in, and now I am spurred on. Meantime, I am left ignorant of the reasons of this change; I am warned of dangers, but without being told of what kind they are, and whether they approach on one side or on many. In the first place, there is his Majesty with the army which he commands; Paris, Brittany, Spain, and Italy, present themselves to my mind—now in turn, now all at once; my thoughts are carried from one to the other, without my being able to form any settled opinion; being ignorant of the real state of affairs, I cannot be a judge of what they require or what they will permit; whether they are such that I ought to consent blindly to everything, without any discussion or any delay; or whether, for the discussion of, at least, the most essential points, I shall be allowed a few days, or have only one, perhaps not a moment. This state of anxiety would have been spared me, by some information which the letter of the Duke of Bassano does not contain.

"In the state of ignorance in which it leaves me, I shall proceed very cautiously, as one ought to do when amongst rocks; but in every exigency, I shall do everything which appears to me to be required for the safety of your Majesty and the welfare of my country."

On the day but one following, the 8th, he confided his harassing anxiety to Prince Metternich, and wrote to him thus:—

"You have authorized me, my dear Prince, to open my heart to you without reserve. I have already done so, and shall continue to do it, for it is a consolation which it would cost me too much to relinquish.

"I regret more every day that it is not with you I have to negotiate; had I foreseen that it would be as it is, I should not have accepted the situation in the ministry, nor would I have come here: I should now be in the ranks of the army, and I should at least find in battle a death which I must be brought to think would be a blessing, if I fail in my endeavours here to serve my country and my sovereign.

"Count Stadion is, no doubt, worthy of the friendship which you feel for him, and merits all the confidence which you wish me to place in him; but Count Stadion is not you; he cannot have that influence with the negotiators which you would, by right, have exercised. Had you been entrusted with the negotiation, I have pleasure in thinking that you would have prevented it from taking the form which is at present intentionally given to it, a form evidently calculated to waste time in interminable delays. What can be the use of these delays, if it is only peace which is wished for? Am I not here for the purpose of concluding a peace? And do I require anything more than to be informed of the conditions on which they will grant it? Do the allies wish to gain time

sufficient to reach Paris? I need not tell you, Prince, to think of the consequences of such an event as regards the Empress: must she be obliged to flee before the troops of her father, when her august husband is ready to sign a peace? But I must remind you that France is not all in Paris; that were the capital occupied, Frenchmen might think that the time for sacrifices was past; that feelings, which different causes have deadened, might revive; and that the arrival of the allies in Paris might be the beginning of a series of events, which England would not be the last to regret not having prevented, for is it intended that we should be quite overwhelmed? Is it for the interest of Austria that we should be so? What profit can she promise herself from that, or what glory even can she expect from our sinking in a struggle against the whole of Europe? You, my dear Prince, may acquire immense glory; but it is on the condition of your remaining the master of events, and the only means by which you may master them, is to stop the course of them by an immediate peace. We shall not refuse to make any reasonable sacrifices; we only desire to know what is demanded from us, for whose profit we are to make these sacrifices, and whether by making them we secure the putting an immediate end to the miseries of war? I beg, my dear Prince, that you will have these questions weighed in a serious manner, and in their whole bearing. You shall not have to wait long for my answer. You are, assuredly, too wise not to know

that our demands are as just, as our dispositions are moderate. Could not your excellency come with M. de Nesselrode, and spend three hours here with Lord Castlereagh? It would be worthy of the Emperor of Austria's character, and of the heart of the Empress's father, to permit this journey, which might terminate in three hours a struggle now without object, and which costs humanity so many tears.

"I propose to ask the plenipotentiaries of the allied powers, whether France, if she consents, as they demand she should, to return to her ancient limits, will obtain an armistice immediately—perhaps on the very moment? I should be ready to agree to it; I should, moreover, be ready in this case immediately to give up a part of the places of which this sacrifice will deprive us.

"I know not whether the plenipotentiaries of the allied powers are authorized to reply in the affirmative to this question, and whether they have powers to conclude this armistice. If they have not, there is no one so well able as your excellency to contribute to their being given to them; the reasons which induce me to entreat this of your excellency, do not refer so exclusively to France as to be interesting to her alone. I entreat your excellency to lay my letter before the father of the Empress; let him see the sacrifices which we are ready to make, and let him decide."

On the 10th of February, the plenipotentiaries of the Allies suspended the conferences, seeing, they said, "That his Majesty the Emperor of Russia having

judged it proper to concert with his august allies, regarding the object of the conferences, his Majesty has given orders to his plenipotentiary to declare that it is his Majesty's desire that the conferences shall be suspended, until such time as he shall forward ulterior instructions to his plenipotentiary."

The victories of Champaubert, Montmirail, and Vauchamp re-opened the conferences on the 17th, and that same day Count Stadion declared, that after the sitting of the 7th instant, the French plenipotentiary had, in a letter addressed to Prince Metternich on the 9th, announced his intention of asking the plenipotentiaries, whether France, if she consented, as they demanded she should, to return to her ancient limits, would immediately obtain an armistice, perhaps at the very moment; adding that he should be ready to agree to it; and moreover, should in that case consent immediately to deliver up some of those places of which this sacrifice would deprive France—that the Emperor of Austria's minister for foreign affairs, having informed the allied powers of this overture, the latter had authorized their plenipotentiaries to declare in the conferences their opinion, that a preliminary treaty, founded on the above-mentioned principle, and the immediate consequence of which would be the cessation of hostilities, both on land and sea, by putting a prompt termination to the evils of war, would attain, better than an armistice, the end so generally desired; and they had farther, for the purpose of shortening the negotiations, transmitted to their pleni-

potentiaries the draft of a preliminary treaty, which should now be read.

The French plenipotentiary observed, that, at the time when he addressed to Prince Metternich the confidential proposal for an armistice, he was far from expecting that the conferences would be so suddenly suspended, and the negotiations interrupted for the space of nine days, which circumstance had changed the state of the question, and the object which he had proposed to himself; and that preliminaries, requiring a discussion of more or less length, would not instantly put a stop to the effusion of blood, as an armistice would do.

The Austrian plenipotentiary then read the following draft of a preliminary treaty:—

DRAFT OF A PRELIMINARY TREATY BETWEEN THE HIGH ALLIED POWERS AND FRANCE.

"In the name of the Holy and Indivisible Trinity.

"Their Imperial Majesties of Austria and Russia, his Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and his Majesty the King of Prussia, acting in the name of all their allies, on the one side, and his Majesty the Emperor of the French on the other, desiring to cement the repose and future well-being of Europe, by a solid and durable peace on land and sea, and having, in order to obtain this desirable end, their plenipotentiaries actually assembled at Chatillon-sur-Seine, to discuss the conditions of this peace, the said plenipotentiaries have agreed upon the following articles:—

"Art. 1. There shall be peace and an armistice between their Imperial Majesties of Austria and Russia, his Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and his Majesty the King of Prussia, acting in the name of all their allies, and his Majesty the Emperor of the French, and their heirs and successors for ever.

"The high contracting powers engage to do everything in their power to maintain for the future happiness of Europe, the harmony so happily re-established between them.

"Art. 2. His Majesty the Emperor of the French renounces, for himself and his successors, all the acquisitions, annexations, and incorporations of territory, made by France since the commencement of the war of 1792.

"'His Majesty also renounces all constitutional influence, direct or indirect, beyond the former limits of France, such as they were before the war of 1792, and all titles, derived from it, especially those of King of Italy, King of Rome, Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine, and Mediator of the Swiss Confederation.

"Art. 3. The illustrious contracting parties formally and solemnly recognise the principle of the sovereignty and independence of all the states of Europe, such as they shall be constituted in the definitive peace.

"Art. 4. His Majesty the Emperor of the French formally recognises the following reconstruction of the countries bordering on France.

"1. Germany composed of independent states, united by a federative bond.

"2. Italy divided into independent states, lying between the Austrian possessions in Italy, and France.

"3. Holland under the sovereignty of the house of Orange, with an increase of territory.

"'4. Switzerland, free and independent, replaced within its former limits, under the guarantee of all the great powers, France included.

"5. Spain, under Ferdinand VII., within its former limits.

"His Majesty the Emperor of the French farther recognises the right of the allied powers to determine, according to treaties existing between them, the limits and relations, as well of the countries ceded by France as of their own, without permitting any interference on the part of France.

"Art. 5. On the other hand, his Britannic Majesty consents to restore to France, with the exception of the islands called Holy Isles, all the conquests won by him from France during the war, and at present in his power, in the West Indies, Africa, and America.

"The island of Tobago, in conformity with Art. 2, of the present treaty, will remain in the possession of his Britannic Majesty; and the allies promise to employ their good offices in order to engage their Majesties of Sweden and Portugal not to throw obstacles in the way of the restitution of

Guadaloupe and Guiana to France. All the establishments and factories conquered from France, to the east of the Cape of Good Hope, with the exception of the Isles of Mauritius (Isle of France), of Bourbon, and their dependencies, will be restored to France. France will only take possession of such of the above-mentioned establishments and factories as are situated on the continent of India, and within the limits of his Britannic Majesty's possessions, under the condition that she will hold them solely as commercial establishments; and she therefore promises not to construct fortifications, nor to maintain garrisons nor any military forces whatever in them, except so far as is necessary to keep up the police of the said establishments.

"The above-mentioned restitutions in Asia, Africa, and America will not extend to any possessions which were not actually in the power of France before the commencement of the war of 1792.

"The French government engages to prohibit the importation of slaves into any of the colonies and possessions restored by the present treaty, and to prevent its subjects, in the most efficacious manner, from trafficking in negroes in general.

"The Isle of Malta with its dependencies, will remain in the possession of his Britannic Majesty.

"Art. 6. The Emperor of the French will deliver up, immediately after the ratification of the present preliminary treaty, the fortresses and strong places of the ceded countries, as also those which are still occupied by his troops in Germany, without exception, and especially the fortress of Mayence, within six

days; those of Hamburg, Antwerp, and Bergen-op-Zoom, in the space of six days; Mantua, Palma-Nova, Venice, and Peschiera, and the fortresses on the Oder and Elbe, in fifteen days; and the other strong places and forts will be delivered up in the state in which they at present are, with all their artillery, ammunition, provisions, archives, &c. The French garrisons of these places will leave them, with their arms, baggage, and private property.

"His Majesty the Emperor of the French will also give up, in the space of four days, to the allied armies, the fortresses of Besançon, Belfort, and Huningen, which will remain as a deposit until the ratification of the definitive peace, and which will be again delivered up in the state in which they have been ceded, according as the allied armies evacuate the French territory.

"Art. 7. The commanding generals-in-chief will, without delay, appoint commissaries charged with determining the line of demarcation between the two armies.

"Art. 8. As soon as the present preliminary treaty is accepted and ratified by both parties, hostilities will cease on land and sea.

"Art. 9. The present preliminary treaty will be followed, with the shortest possible delay, by the signature of a definitive peace.

"Article 10. The ratifications of the preliminary treaty shall be exchanged in four days, or sooner, if possible.

"In testimony whereof, the plenipotentiaries of their

imperial Majesties of Austria and Russia, of his Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and of his Majesty the King of Prussia, on the one part, and the plenipotentiary of his Majesty the Emperor of the French on the other, have signed it, and attached their seals."

On the 17th, the Duke of Vicenza had *carte blanche* to accept peace on these conditions, and had he signed the treaty, the empire would have been saved; on the 20th, this was no longer in his power. The Emperor had written to him from Nangis on the 17th and 18th of February:—

"SIR,—I gave you *carte blanche*, in order to avoid a battle, and save Paris, which was the last hope of the nation; the battle has taken place; Providence has blessed our arms; I have made from 30,000 to 40,000 prisoners, taken two hundred pieces of cannon, and a great number of generals, and have destroyed several armies almost without striking a blow. Yesterday I made a beginning on the army of Prince Schwartzenberg, which I hope to destroy before it has crossed our frontiers.

"Your attitude must remain the same; you must do all in your power to obtain peace; but my desire is, that you sign nothing without orders from me, as I alone know my own position. As a general direction, I only desire a *solid and honourable* peace, and it can only be such on the bases proposed at Frankfort. Had the allies accepted your proposals on the 9th, no battle would have taken place; I should not have

committed anything to chance at a moment when the slightest success of the opposite party would have been ruinous to France; in fine, I should not have become acquainted with the secret of their weakness. It is just that, on the other hand, I should enjoy the advantage of the chances in my favour. I desire peace, but that would not be peace which imposed on France conditions more humiliatng than those proposed at Frankfort. My position is now certainly more advantageous than it was when the allies were at Frankfort. Then they could brave me; I had obtained no advantages over them, and they were far from my territory. Now the matter is different; I have obtained immense advantages over them—advantages unparalleled in a military career of twenty years' duration, and marked by some striking events. I am ready to cease hostilities, and allow my enemies to return quietly to their own dominions, if they will sign preliminaries based on the propositions of Frankfort.

"It is the insincerity of the enemy, and their violation of the most sacred engagements, which alone cause delays between us; and we are so near each other, that if the enemy allows you to correspond directly with me, an answer to the despatches may be received in twenty-four hours. And besides, I am about to approach nearer.

"I pray God to have you in His keeping.

"P.S. How does it happen that to-day, the 18th, I only receive despatches from you of the 14th? and

yet, we are only at five-and-twenty leagues distance from you?"

§ 11.

On the evening after the battle of Nangis, Count Parr, aide-de-camp to Prince Schwartzenberg, brought to the head-quarters of the Emperor a request for a suspension of arms, and an autograph letter from the Emperor of Austria to the Empress Marie-Louise. This afforded a hope of the efficacious intervention of Austria in determining the allies to sign a peace honourable for France. Napoleon took advantage of this opportunity to write to his father-in-law. Fresh victories also added to the hope which he now conceived of a change in his position.

On the 23rd, Prince Wentzel Lichtenstein brought him back the reply of the Emperor of Austria, accompanied by the most solemn protestations that the Emperor, his master, desired peace; that he would never join any league the object of which was to bring back the Bourbons to the throne of France; and that a proof of the sincerity of the Austrian cabinet might be found in the mission which he now fulfilled, by soliciting a suspension of hostilities, and offering a resumption of negotiations during the armistice.

The same day, however, Monsieur de St. Aignon arrived from Paris, and brought most unfavourable news of the situation of the capital. The victories of Montmirail, Vauchamp, Nangis, and Montereau, had not, he said, restored the confidence of the intelligent classes: "they equally dread victory and defeat, be-

cause they are convinced that the attainment of peace requires concessions which the Emperor will never resolve to make. France desires peace; it will be good enough, if it is only prompt!" "It will come soon enough, if it is shameful," replied the Emperor; and at the same moment, he mounted his horse for the purpose of rejoining his guard, which had been on the march towards Troyes since four o'clock in the morning.

The re-establishment of the Bourbons on the throne of France was openly encouraged by the cabinet of St. James's: Louis XVIII. corresponded with the most influential members of the French senate and legislative body. The Marquis de Rivière presented himself at Bourges as royal commissary; the Count d'Artois was at Vesoul, inundating Franche-Comté with his proclamations. The Duke d'Angoulême was supported in Guyenne by Marshal Beresford's English division. Even at Troyes, in the midst of the army, the royalists were lifting their heads.

Napoleon could not bring himself to believe that the Emperor of Austria was not sincere in the protestations which he again renewed through Prince Lichtenstein, and he thought that, strong in the support of Austria against the hopes of the Bourbons, he might always remain free at his own will to sign the peace, under the conditions of the project presented, on the 17th of February, at Chatillon, by the Austrian plenipotentiary in the name of the allies.

The conferences for the armistice were opened at

Lusigny : General Schouwalof acting for Russia, General Rauch for Prussia, and General Flahaut for France. The time was lost in discussions concerning the tracing of the line of demarcation; the Austrian army alone suspended its hostile operations.

The Prussian army continued its manœuvres to escape the French army and surprise Paris.

On receiving this intelligence, the Emperor quitted Troyes, and resumed the course of his successes at Craon, at Laon, and at Rheims; but fate opened the gates of Soissons to the Prussian army.

The object of Austria in demanding a suspension of arms had evidently only been to gain the time necessary for the rallying of her troops, and for the arrival of two divisions, which the defection of Marshal Augereau had enabled her to detach from Marshal Bubna's army. The commissaries, assembled at Lusigny, separated without having been able to come to any understanding.

§ 12.

The conferences of Chatillon were re-opened on the 10th of March; and the French plenipotentiary was thus enabled to insert in the protocol the following note, as well as the counter-project of France:

" *On the* 10*th of March, the plenipotentiary of France received orders to make the following observations in the protocol:*—

" The allied sovereigns, *in their declaration of Frankfort*, which is known to all Europe, and the

plenipotentiaries of those sovereigns, in their proposition of the 7th of February, have equally laid down as a principle, that France is to preserve, by the peace, the same relative power which she possessed before the wars to be terminated by that peace, for that which the plenipotentiaries have said, in the preamble to their propositions, respecting the desire of the Allied Powers to see France in a state analogous to the rank which she has always occupied in the political system, has not, and cannot have, any other meaning.

"The allied powers had, consequently, demanded that France should confine itself within the limits formed by the Pyrenees, the Alps, and the Rhine; and France had agreed to this. But the plenipotentiaries, on the contrary, have demanded, both in their note of the 7th, and in the project of articles which they remitted on the 17th, that France should return to its former limits. How, without even ceasing to invoke the same principle, have they managed, in so short a time, to pass from the one demand to the other? What event has happened since the first demand, which can afford a cause for the second?

"It could not be founded, either on the 7th or 17th, and for much stronger reasons it cannot now be founded, on the confidential offer made by the plenipotentiary of France to the cabinet minister of one of the allied courts; for the letter containing it was only written on the 9th, and it was indispensable to reply to it immediately; since the offer was made,

under the *absolute condition of an immediate armistice,* which should stop the effusion of blood, and prevent a battle in which the allies were about to engage; but instead of this, the conferences were, by the sole will of the allies, suspended from the 10th to the 17th, on which day the proposed condition was even formally rejected. They could not then, nor can they now, in any way take advantage of an offer which was over-ruled by them. Did not the allied sovereigns desire, three months ago, to establish a just equilibrium in Europe? Do they not declare that they still desire this? To preserve the same relative power as she has always possessed, is also the sole and real desire of France. But Europe is no longer the same as it was twenty years ago; at that epoch, the kingdom of Poland, already divided in pieces, disappeared entirely; the immense territory of Russia was increased by vast and rich provinces. Six millions of men were added to a population already larger than that of any European state. Nine millions fell to the share of Austria and Prussia. The face of Germany soon changed. The ecclesiastical states, and most of the Germanic free towns were divided among the secular princes. Prussia and Austria obtained the largest share. The ancient republic of Venice became a province of the Austrian monarchy; two millions more of subjects, with fresh territories and fresh resources, have since been given to Russia by the treaties of Tilsit, Vienna, Jassi, and Abo. England on its part, and in the same interval of time, not only

acquired, by the treaty of Amiens, the Dutch possessions of Ceylon and Trinity Isle, but doubled her possessions in India, and made of them an empire, to which two of the greatest monarchies in Europe put together would scarcely be equal. If the population of this empire cannot be looked upon as an increase of the population of Britain, does not England draw from it, in compensation, both by sovereignty and commerce, an immense increase of riches, that other element of power? Russia and England have retained all that they acquired. Austria and Prussia have indeed sustained losses; but do they renounce the desire of repairing them? And are they now contented with the states in possession of which the present war found them? And yet their situation differs very little from that in which they were twenty years ago.

"It is not for its own interest alone, that France should endeavour to preserve the same relative power as formerly; on reading the declaration of Frankfort, it will be seen that the allied sovereigns were themselves convinced that this was also *the interest of Europe.* Now, when all around France is changed, how could she *preserve the same relative power, if replaced in her former state?* Should this be effected, *she would not even have the degree of absolute power which she then had;* for her colonial possessions were incontestably one of the elements of this power; and the most important of these possessions, the one which in value equalled or surpassed all the others put together, has been taken from her. It little

matters from what cause she has lost it; it is enough that she no longer possesses it, and that it is not in the power of the allies to restore it to her.

" In order to estimate the relative power of states, it is not sufficient to compare their absolute strength; account must be taken in the calculations of the use which their geographical situation constrains or permits them to make of it.

" England is an essentially maritime power, and can employ its whole strength on sea.

" Austria has too little coast to become a maritime power; Russia and Prussia have no need to be so; since they have no possessions beyond seas, they are essentially continental powers. France, on the contrary, is at the same time essentially maritime, by reason of the extent of its coasts, and of its colonies, and essentially continental.

" England can only be attacked by fleets; Russia, leaning against the North Pole, and bounded on almost every side by seas or vast solitudes, can only, since she has acquired Finland, be attacked on one side; *France can be attacked on every point of its circumference; both on the side of the land, where her dominions everywhere border on valiant nations, and on the side of the sea, and in her distant possessions.*

" In order to establish a real balance of power, her relative power ought then to be considered under two distinct points of view; in order to form a just estimate of it, it must be divided, and its absolute strength only be compared to that of other continental states,

after deducting the part of it which she must employ on sea; and to that of the maritime states, after deducting the part which she must employ on the Continent.

"The plenipotentiary of France entreats their excellencies the plenipotentiaries to weigh attentively the preceding considerations, which are of such striking truth, and to judge whether the acquisitions which France has made on this side the Alps and the Rhine, and which were secured to her by the treaties of Lunéville and of Amiens, would even suffice to re-establish between her and the great powers of Europe the equilibrium which the changes which have taken place in the possessions of these powers have destroyed.

"Simple calculation clearly and evidently demonstrates that these acquisitions, added to all that France possessed in 1792, would still be *far* from giving her the same degree of relative power as she then possessed, and had constantly possessed in preceding times; and yet it is demanded of her, not only to abandon a part of them, but to abandon them all—although in their declaration of Frankfort, the allied sovereigns announced *to Europe that they allowed France* to claim a more extensive territory than she had possessed under her kings.

"The strength belonging peculiarly to a state is not the only element of its relative power, in which are included the ties which unite it to other states—ties which are both stronger and more durable between states governed by princes of the same blood. The Emperor of the French, besides his empire, possesses

a kingdom; his adopted son is the appointed heir to it; other princes of the French dynasty were possessors of foreign crowns or sovereignties. Treaties had consecrated their rights, and the Continent had recognised them. The project of the allied courts maintains, with respect to them, a silence which the natural and just questions of the French plenipotentiary were unable to break; and yet France, in renouncing the right of these princes, and the portion of relative power which results to her from it, as well as her acquisitions on this side the Alps and the Rhine, would find that her former relative power, maritime and continental, had diminished in exact proportion as that of the other great states is already increased, or will be increased on the conclusion of the peace, by their respective acquisitions.

"The restoration of her colonies, which would only replace her in her former state of absolute greatness (and even this, the situation of St. Domingo would not permit of completely effecting) would not and could not be a compensation for her losses; but these losses would be by this means diminished; and this is, without doubt, the least which she ought to expect. But what does the project of the allies offer her on this point?

"Of the French colonies which have fallen into the hands of the enemy, (and the wars of the Continent have delivered them all into their hands,) there are three whose importance, under several points of view,

puts them beyond comparison with all others; these are Guadaloupe, Guiana, and the Isle of France.

" Instead of the restitution of the two first named, the project of the allied courts only offers '*good offices to procure this restitution.*' It would seem from this, that these two colonies are in the hands of powers who have nothing to do with the present negotiation, and that they are, therefore, not to be included in the future peace; but such is not the case—on the contrary, the powers in whose possession they are, are among the number of those in whose name and for whom the allied courts have declared that they were authorized to treat. Are they, then, only authorized to negotiate the clauses to the disadvantage of France? and do they cease to possess this authority when clauses to its advantage are to be negotiated? If this be the fact, it would become indispensable that all the states engaged in the present war should immediately take part in the negotiation, and send plenipotentiaries to the conferences.

" There is another observation to be made—viz., that Guadaloupe, having only been taken from England by an act which the right of nations does not authorize, England must still be looked upon, relatively to France, as occupying it, and from her alone can its restitution be demanded.

" England wishes to retain for herself the Isle of France without which, the other possessions of France to the east of the Cape of Good Hope, lose all

their value; the Holy Isles, without which, the possession of Guadaloupe would be precarious; and the Island of Tobago; the latter she claims under the pretext that France did not possess it in 1792; and the others, although France possessed them from time immemorial; thus establishing a rule, which is only rigorous towards France, which admits of no exceptions but such as are to her disadvantage, and which thus becomes a two-edged sword.

"An island of tolerable extent, but which has lost its former fertility, two or three others very much smaller, and a few commercial establishments which the loss of the Isle of France would force France to renounce—this is the sum total of the great restitutions which England promised to make! Are these what she made at Amiens, where she restored Malta, which now she desires to retain, and which is not contested with her? What less would she have offered had France had to make cessions to her alone? The restitutions which she promised, had been announced as an equivalent for the sacrifices to be made to the Continent. It was under this condition that France declared her readiness to make great sacrifices; these restitutions were to be an equivalent. Could she expect a project by which the Continent demands everything, England restores almost nothing, and the result of which is that all the great powers of Europe are to keep what they have acquired, repair the losses which they have suffered, and acquire more, while France alone is to retain nothing, and to recover only the

smallest and least valuable part of what she has lost?

"*After all the sacrifices demanded of France, it only remained to demand that of her honour.*

"The project tends to take from her the *right of intervention in favour of former allies, now in misfortune.* The plenipotentiary of France having demanded whether the King of Saxony would again be put in possession of his dominions, could not even obtain an answer.

"Cessions and renunciations are demanded of France, and the allies at the same time desire that in ceding them she shall not know to whom, under what titles, and in what proportion, that which she cedes will belong! *They desire her to remain in ignorance as to who are to be her near neighbours;* they desire to regulate, without her, the fate of the territory which she shall cede, and the mode of life of those to whom her sovereign was bound by private relations; they desire to make, *without* her, arrangements which are to regulate the general system of possession and equilibrium in Europe; they wish her to be a stranger to the arrangement of a whole of which she forms a considerable and necessary part; in short, they desire that, in signings uch conditions, she shall in a manner exclude herself from the society of Europe.

"Her establishments on the continent of India are to be restored to her, but under the condition that she shall hold, as a dependent and a subject, what she formerly held as a sovereign.

"Finally, rules of conduct are dictated to her to be observed in the ulterior government of her colonies, and towards a population which no relation either of dependence or subjection binds to the governments of Europe, and with regard to whom, not one of them can be acknowledged to have any right of patronage.

"Such are not the proposals which we should be prepared to hear after the language of the allied sovereigns, and that of the Prince Regent of England, when he said to the British Parliament 'that no disposition on his part to demand from France sacrifices compatible neither with her interest as a nation nor with her honour, should be any obstacle to peace.'

"The French nation, attacked at once by all the powers leagued against her, feels more deeply than any other government the need of peace, and desires it more ardently than any other; *but every generous nation, as well as every generous man, values honour more than life itself.*

"The intention of the allies cannot certainly be to degrade France; and although the French plenipotentiary cannot explain to himself the little conformity to be perceived between the project of articles which has been transmitted to him, and the sentiments which the allies have so often and so plainly expressed, he does not the less confidently present to the consideration of the allied courts and of their plenipotentiaries, these observations dictated by the general interest of Europe, as well as by the private interest of France, and which deviate in no point from the declarations

of the allied sovereigns, or from that of the Prince Regent to the English Parliament.

"March 15, 1814.

"His Majesty the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, protector of the confederation of the Rhine, and mediator of the Swiss confederation, on the one side; his Majesty the Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary and Bohemia; his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias; his Majesty the King of Great Britain and Ireland, and his Majesty the King of Prussia, stipulating each for themselves, and conjointly for the whole of the powers engaged with them in the present war, on the other:

"Having at heart to put a stop, as promptly as possible, to the effusion of human blood and the distresses of nations, have appointed the following plenipotentiaries:— * * *

"Who have agreed upon the following articles:—

"Art. 1. Beginning from this day henceforth, there shall be peace, sincere amity, and good understanding between his Majesty the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, protector of the confederation of the Rhine, and mediator of the Swiss confederation, on the one side; and his Majesty the Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary and Bohemia; his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias; his Majesty the King of Great Britain and Ireland; his Majesty the King of Prussia, and their allies, on the other, and between their heirs and successors for ever.

"The high contracting parties engage to turn all their attention towards maintaining, for the future welfare of Europe, the harmony so happily re-established between them.

"Art. 2. His Majesty the Emperor of the French renounces, for himself and his successors, all titles whatever, except those derived from the possessions which, in consequence of this treaty of peace, shall remain under his sovereignty.

"Art. 3. His Majesty the Emperor of the French renounces, for himself and his successors, all rights of sovereignty or possession over the *Illyrian provinces*, and the territories forming the French departments *beyond the Alps* except the *Isle of Elba*, and also the French departments beyond the Rhine.

"Art. 4. His Majesty the Emperor of the French, as King of Italy, renounces the crown of that kingdom in favour of his appointed heir, Prince Eugene Napoleon, and of his descendants for ever.

"The Adige shall form the boundary between the kingdom of Italy and the empire of Austria.

"Art. 5. The high contracting parties solemnly and in the most formal manner, recognise the absolute independence and full sovereignty of all the states of Europe, within the limits in which they shall find themselves in consequence of the present treaty, or in conformity with the arrangements indicated in Art. 16, hereafter mentioned.

"Art. 6. His Majesty the Emperor of the French recognises:

"1. The independence of Holland, under the sovereignty of the House of Orange. Holland shall receive an increase of territory. The title and exercise of the sovereignty of Holland cannot, in any case, belong to a prince either wearing, or being heir to, a foreign crown.

"2. The independence of Germany, and of each of its states, which may be united among themselves by a federative league.

"3. The independence of Switzerland, governing itself, under the guarantee of all the great powers.

"4. The independence of Italy, and of each of the princes among whom it is or shall be divided.

"5. The independence and integrity of Spain, under the sovereignty of Ferdinand VII.

"Art. 7. The Pope shall be immediately put in possession of his estates such as they were in consequence of the treaty of Tolentino, the duchy of Benevento excepted.

"Art. 8. Her Illustrious Highness the Princess Eliza shall retain Lucca and Piombino as a sovereignty and property for herself and her descendants.

"Art. 9. The principality of *Neufchâtel* shall remain as a property and sovereignty in the possession of the reigning prince and of his heirs.

"Art. 10. His Majesty the King of Saxony shall be re-established in the full and entire possession of his grand duchy.

"Art. 11. His Royal Highness the Duke of Berg

shall also be again put in possession of his Grand Duchy.

"Art. 12. The cities of Bremen, Hamburg, Lubeck, Dantzig, and Ragusa, shall be free cities.

"Art. 13. The Ionian Islands shall belong in full sovereignty to the kingdom of Italy.

"Art. 14. The Isle of Malta and its dependencies shall belong as a property and sovereignty to his Britannic Majesty.

"Art. 15. The colonies, fisheries, commercial settlements and factories, possessed by France before the present war, in the seas, or on the continents of America, Africa, and Asia, and which have fallen into the hands of England, or of her allies, shall be restored, to be possessed by France under the same titles as before the war, and with the rights and faculties secured to her, relatively to commerce and fisheries, by former treaties, particularly by that of Amiens; but, at the same time, France engages to consent, in consideration of a reasonable equivalent, to the cession of such of the above-mentioned colonies as England has testified a desire to retain, with the exception of the Holy Isles, which are a necessary dependency of Guadaloupe.

"Art. 16. The disposal of the territories, renounced by his Majesty the Emperor of the French, and which is not arranged by the present treaty, will be made, the indemnities to be given to the dispossessed kings and princes determined on, and all the arrangements which are to fix the system of possession and equilibrium

regulated, in a special congress, which shall assemble at ——— within ——— days after the ratification of the present treaty.

"Art. 17. In all the territories, cities, and places, which France renounces, the ammunition, arsenals, armed and unarmed vessels, and everything, in short, which she has placed there, belong to her, and shall be reserved for her.

"Art. 18. The debts of the countries annexed to France, which she renounces by the present treaty, shall be at the charge of the said countries, and of their future possessors.

"Art. 19. In all the countries which now change, or are to change, their masters, whether in virtue of the present treaty, or of the arrangements which shall be made in consequence of Art. 16, before mentioned, a space of six years shall be granted to all the inhabitants, native or foreign, of whatsoever condition or nation, for the purpose of disposing of their property, acquired either before or during the present war, and of retiring into any country which they may select.

"Art. 20. The property, possessions, or revenues of any kind, possessed by subjects of any one of the states engaged in this war, by any title whatever, in the countries which are, or will be, in virtue of Art. 16, under the dominion of any of the other said states, shall continue to be possessed by them without trouble or hindrance, solely under the clauses and conditions previously attached to their possessions, and with full liberty to enjoy and dispose of them, as well

as to export the revenues, and, in case of sale, the value.

"Art. 21. The high contracting parties being desirous of burying in entire oblivion the divisions which have agitated Europe, declare and promise that in the countries under their respective dominion, no individual, of any class or condition whatever, shall be annoyed in his person, his goods, rents, pensions, and revenues, in his rank, grade, or dignities; nor sought out nor pursued in any way whatever on account of any part which he has or may have taken, in any manner whatever, in the events which led to the present war, and were the consequence of it.

"Art. 22. As soon as intelligence of the signature of the present treaty shall have reached the respective head-quarters, orders shall be immediately dispatched for the cessation of hostilities on land and sea, as promptly as the distances will permit; the high contracting parties engage faithfully to use all possible celerity in expediting these orders, and passports shall be given on both sides, for the officers or vessels charged with their conveyance.

"Art. 23. In order to anticipate all the subjects of complaint and of contest which might arise with regard to captures at sea after the present treaty, it is reciprocally agreed upon that all vessels and effects captured in the Channel or the Northern Seas, after the space of twelve days, counting from the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, shall be mutually restored; that between the Channel and the North Seas and the Canary Isles, inclusively, whether

in the ocean or in the Mediterranean, the term shall be a month; from the said Canary Isles to the equator, two months; and five months in any other parts of the world, without exception, and without any distinction of time or place.

"Art. 24. The allied troops shall evacuate the French territory, and the places to be ceded or restored by France shall be given up to them within the following periods:—On the third day after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, the allied troops which are at the greatest distance from the frontier, and on the fifth day after the said exchange, those which are the nearest to it shall begin to retire, directing their march towards the nearest frontier, marching thirty leagues in every ten days, so that the evacuation may be uninterrupted and successive, and that it may be completed within forty days, at most. Provisions and the necessary means of conveyance will be furnished to them as long as they are in the French territory; but they shall have no power, counting from the day of the signature of the present treaty, to raise any contribution, or exact anything whatever except that above indicated. Immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, the fortresses of Custrin, Glogau, Palma-Nova, and Venice, shall be given up to the allies; and those occupied by the French troops in Spain, to the Spaniards. The fortresses of Hamburg and Magdeburg, and the citadels of Erfurt and Würtzburg shall be given up, when the half of the French territory has been evacuated. All the other fortresses of the ceded countries shall be given up

on the total evacuation of the French territory. The countries traversed by the garrisons of the said cities shall furnish them with provisions, and with all necessary means of conveyance for returning to France, and for bringing back to it, in virtue of Art. 17, everything which is French property.

"Art. 25. The restitutions which, in virtue of Art. 15, are to be made to France by England or her allies, shall take place on the Continent and in the seas of America and Africa, within three months, and in Asia within six months, after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty.

"Art. 26. The ambassadors, envoys extraordinary, ministers, presidents, and agents of the high contracting parties shall enjoy, at the different courts, the same rank and prerogative as before the war, the same ceremonial being maintained.

"Art. 27. All prisoners on both sides shall, immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, be given up without ransom, paying only the private debts which they may have contracted.

"Art. 28. The four allied courts engage to deliver to France within the space of ———— an act of accession to the present treaty from each of the states in whose name they stipulate.

"Art 29. The present treaty shall be ratified and the ratifications exchanged within the space of five days, or even sooner if possible."

"After having finished reading the foregoing project, and having taken a certificate of its insertion in

the protocol, the plenipotentiary of France declares verbally that he is ready to enter into a discussion, in a conciliatory spirit, of all the articles of the said project. The plenipotentiaries of the allied courts reply that the document, which has been read and communicated to them, is of too great importance for them to be able to give any answer to it during the present sitting, and that they reserve to themselves to propose an ulterior conference to the plenipotentiary of France."

As may be seen by the foregoing account, Napoleon constantly desired peace, and from the very opening of the congress of Chatillon, his plenipotentiary had *carte blanche* to conclude a peace in order to arrest the progress of the enemy, so fatal to our provinces, to save the capital, and to avoid a great battle, the loss of which would ruin the hopes of the nation. Napoleon gave these full and absolute powers, this *carte blanche*, on the 4th or 5th of February, and only revoked them after his victories; thus, during a term of more than fifteen days, if the allies had desired it, peace might have been concluded at Chatillon before the French plenipotentiary could receive fresh instructions from Napoleon, who would not then have been strong enough, in the state of his affairs, and against public opinion, to refuse to ratify a signed treaty; but the allies did not aim at peace; they desired to take revenge for the triumphs of France;

they recalled to mind the days—days of mourning to them—when the French eagle had hovered over their capitals. The propositions of Chatillon, like those of Dresden and of Frankfort, were but a lure, which they put forward in order to deceive their own subjects, and sow division in France.

The French plenipotentiary desired to have precise instructions with regard to the sacrifices which he might make. Napoleon was at Nogent-sur-Seine. The Grand Marshal Bertrand, and the Duke of Bassano, who were then with the Emperor, urged him to accede to the Duke of Vicenza's request, to be left at liberty to depart from his instructions if necessary, and make use of the *carte blanche* which had been given to him. Napoleon re-entered his cabinet with his minister, and had a conference with him, which lasted far into the night. It was decided that Belgium should be abandoned without hesitation, that even the left bank of the Rhine should be given up, if peace could not be obtained without these sacrifices; but that if it were found possible to continue the negotiations by means of one only of these concessions, then they would begin by giving up Belgium, whatever desire Napoleon might have to preserve that fertile province, because the English ministry, having attained their principal end, might be afraid of exposing themselves to the consequences of the other concessions demanded; and, on the other hand, because, in more prosperous times, Belgium might be again conquered, without any other result than a maritime war, which would not in any

way compromise the situation of the empire; whilst, on the contrary, any attempt again to obtain possession of the left bank of the Rhine would inevitably excite a continental war. The instructions to the plenipotentiary were, therefore, to offer to give up Belgium in the first instance, and afterwards the left bank of the Rhine, should that be indispensable. As for Italy, Piedmont, Genoa, the lately acquired possessions in Germany, and even the colonies, these had been already sacrificed.

Napoleon was to affix his signature to this despatch at seven o'clock in the morning; at five o'clock, however, he received intelligence concerning the movements of the Russian and Prussian armies, which led him to think that some glorious achievements were likely to change the face of affairs; he therefore postponed his reply to the Duke of Vicenza, and set out for Champaubert. A series of triumphs raised his hopes: instead of the great battle which he was anxious to avoid, he gained five memorable victories; the enemy lost more than 90,000 men in the course of ten days. The state of affairs was quite altered, and he therefore changed his resolution.

He wrote from Nangis to his plenipotentiary, from whom he withdrew the full power he had given to him, and desired him for the future to take his own orders in every step of the negotiation, which from that time was to proceed in the ordinary way. It was not now for Napoleon to consider beforehand what concessions might be exacted from him; his object was to dis-

cover, by means of the negotiations taking place at Chatillon, what were the real intentions of the allies, and what real sacrifices he would be able to avoid, in consequence of the events which had just occurred.

Towards the end of Feburary, Napoleon received from the allies at Chatillon, the draft of a preliminary treaty; for it was impossible to recognise as an *ultimatum*, such an assemblage of revolting proposals. To abandon all that Napoleon had acquired by conquest, he believed to be his duty; he would have done this, (because to ensure the welfare of one's country is a duty paramount to all others,) could he have immediately secured, as the result of so many grievous sacrifices, a definitive treaty of peace. But it was not a definitive treaty which was proposed to him; it was only the preliminaries of peace; it was an armed armistice, or rather, it was an armistice by which France was to lay down her arms, whilst her enemies were in the occupation of such parts of her territory as they had invaded, and of the fortresses of Huningen, Belfort, and Besançon, although they were situated in a part of the country not occupied by the allies. Such a treaty was nothing else in his eyes than a dishonourable capitulation. He wrote to his plenipotentiary—"Why do the allies not ask us to deliver up to them our guns and our artillery? 'Come and take them,' would be the only fitting answer to such proposals for peace. The Romans, at the conclusion of the third Punic war, required in the first place that the Carthaginians should collect all their ships and

destroy their implements of warfare; Carthage obeyed; and the Roman Senate then ordered her to be abandoned by her inhabitants, because they thought proper to decide that she ought to be reduced to ashes."

Instructions were forwarded to the Duke of Vicenza for the drawing up of a counter project, whilst that of the allies was sent to the Empress, with orders to submit it to an extraordinary council convoked for the purpose, and composed principally of men who had exercised considerable influence at the different periods of the Revolution, and who had been raised to high functions under the empire. One alone, General Vacué, Count of Cessac, rejected the project with indignation, as the most dishonouring proposition of which the history of France had ever made mention, and as a shameful law, which even their honour could not allow the French to obey; the others were of opinion that they ought to submit to necessity.

Napoleon, who had never yet been able to ascertain the real *ultimatum* of the allies, forwarded, from Rheims, some days after the battle of Craon, new powers to his plenipotentiary, authorizing him to conclude the negotiations, with this single restriction, that he should sign no treaty except such as should have as its immediate result, the evacuation of territory and sending back of prisoners on both sides.

The courier met the Duke of Vicenza some leagues from Chatillon; the allies had, as at Prague, fixed a fatal term for the duration of the negotiations, which were now broken up.

The Duke of Vicenza was, however, unwilling to leave Chatillon without informing the plenipotentiaries of the allies that he had orders to sign a peace on the following bases:—

"The renunciation, by a treaty to be concluded, of all titles expressing sovereignty, supremacy, protection, or influence, in any of the continental states beyond the limits of France.

"The recognition of the independence of Spain within its ancient limits, under the sovereignty of Ferdinand VII.

"The independence of Italy and of Switzerland, under the guarantee of the great powers.

"The independence of Germany.

"The independence of Holland, under the sovereignty of the Prince of Orange.

"With the declaration, moreover, that if, in order to remove causes of misunderstanding, and render friendship more firm and peace more durable between France and England, any further cessions on the part of France should be judged necessary beyond sea, she will be ready to make them on receiving a reasonable equivalent."

§ 13.

On his return from the Isle of Elba, and when he was brought back to Paris amid the unanimous acclamations of 30,000,000 Frenchmen, Napoleon wished for peace; and had he been victorious at Waterloo, he would have accepted the treaty of Paris.

Without doubt, it could not be a part of his system to *propose* such a peace; but finding it drawn up, he would have accepted it, because France had need of repose.

Kings and their subjects could not comprehend that his reign was necessary to the balance of power and to the tranquillity of Europe; they could not believe that any man could possess a mind sufficiently strong to submit to, and obey readily, such imperious circumstances. He had, however, proved that he was not a man of half measures. They were in error: Napoleon would have readily accommodated himself to being king of the constitution and of peace, as he had been the monarch of the dictatorship and of military glory, should that prove necessary, or be a means of bringing about the regeneration of the great European society.

People were afraid of phantoms; of his ambition, his conquests, his universal monarchy. But his power was no longer the same; and his victories had only been acts of self-defence. France has been always attacked by Europe, and she was obliged to conquer, or else submit to be conquered. There was always a coalition against her, either avowed or mysterious; the nation was fatigued, and had need of repose. And can it be thought that Napoleon himself had no need of rest also, or that he was insensible to the blessings of peace, should the honour and interests of his country permit him to conclude it? If, in 1815, he had wished, without any provocation, to cross the Rhine

with his armies, public opinion would have stopped him; for public opinion is a power invisible and mysterious, but which no one can resist.

Was it apprehended that he would renew the anarchy of the republican government? but could it, then, be forgotten that he had constantly resisted the temptations offered him by the exalted democrats of the countries which his armies occupied? Although his enemies have called him "the modern Attila," "the crowned Robespierre," his libellers know him, and their consciences belie their abuse. Had Napoleon been Attila he might, perhaps, still reign, but, certainly, the kings by right divine, and the oligarchs would no longer reign. In that great cause of which he was the chief, two systems offered themselves to his consideration: to oblige kings to hear reason by means of their subjects, or to conduct the subjects into a safe port by means of their kings. But he well knew how difficult it is to stop the masses when once they are set in motion; and he thought he could more safely count on the wisdom and intelligence of kings. He was mistaken; they attached no value to anything; and, in their blindness, they unchained against their own future peace, the passions with which they conquered him.

Did they dread the example of a soldier become king? Thousands of ages might, however, elapse, before such circumstances as were accumulated on the head of Napoleon, should select from the crowd another soldier and place him on the throne; whilst there is

no sovereign who has not in his palace a brother, a nephew or a cousin, who may be tempted to imitate him who gives the example of usurping a hereditary crown.

Of what, then, were the people afraid? Napoleon was returning as the messenger of peace and of their rights! This doctrine constituted his strength; to violate it would have been his destruction. There were, however, Frenchmen so insane as to raise discussions, and create divisions when they should be fighting; and who put their country under the yoke of the conquerors of Waterloo rather than be indebted for the victory to the sword of Napoleon. But would it not have been easier for them to get rid of a despot than to shake off the chains which all the nations of Europe brought to them with cannon-shots? Had Napoleon not been sincere, had he wished for the dictatorship, what prevented his proclaiming it on his return from the Isle of Elba? The good sense of the people offered it to him; he was wrong not to accept it until the conclusion of peace; for that would have saved France from the invasion of 1815. But he had not sufficient confidence in himself; for, if narrow and vulgar minds can only discern in his proposals the care of his own power, more enlarged minds and the generality of the people are convinced that in times of national danger his power and his country were but one and the same.

§ 14.

History will do him justice; she will represent him as a man of self-denial and of disinterestedness; that which was not for the interest of his country was as nothing to him: his ambition was to promote the glory and supreme greatness of France. He did not usurp the crown; he lifted it, bloody and dirty, out of the mud, and the people placed it on his head. Who on earth ever had more treasures at his disposal?—and he employed them in the service of his country. His fortunes were those of France; he identified himself without reserve in her destinies. For what other object could he attain to such a height? Has he been ever seen occupied with himself alone? No doubt, the French people did a great deal for him, more than they ever did for any other man; but, on the other hand, what man ever did so much for the people?

The additional act contained in itself the source of all the constitutional guarantees; this was the adoption of the *political religion* of the English,—a sure means of establishing between two nations who had for centuries been rivals, the ties of good understanding, friendship, and a common cause. Were the caprices and passions of the governing powers once enchained, the interests of the people would go on without any obstacle and in their natural course. The merchants of hostile nations have communication with each other, and attend to their business, whilst the governing powers are making war. The inhabitants of France

and England had arrived at that point. Thanks to their parliaments, each of them had become the guarantee of the other, and who can tell how far their union might have operated? . Who can tell what new combinations might have arisen from it? One thing is certain—viz., that with the constitutional organization which would have resulted to France from the additional act, the English ministers have had in their power the glory and prosperity of England, the destinies and the well-being of the world.

END OF VOL. III.

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